THE HISTORY and PROCEEDINGS OF THE House of Commons FROM THE *RESTORATION* TO THE PRESENT TIME.

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THE

HISTORY and PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

House of Commons

FROM THE

RESTORATION

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PRESENT TIME.

FH
MVSEVM
BRITANNICVM

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SPEECHES AND DEBATES IN THE *House of Commons*, DURING

The Seventh and Laſt Seſſion of the Seventh Parliament of *Great Britain.*

ON Thurſday the 17th of January the Parliament being met at Weſtminſter, purſuant to their laſt Prorogation, the King came to the Houſe of Lords, and being ſeated upon the Throne with the uſual State and Solemnity, and the Commons being ſent for up and attending, his Majeſty open'd the Seſſion with the following Speech to both Houſes: Anno 7. Geo. II. 1733-34.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" THE War, which is now begun, and carry'd on, " againſt the Emperor, with ſo much Vigour, by the " united Powers of France, Spain, and Sardinia, is become The King's Speech at opening the Seventh Seſſion.

Anno 7. Geo. II. 1733-34.

" the Object of the Care and Attention of all Europe; and
" though I am no ways engaged in it, and have had no
" Part, except by my good Offices, in thoſe Tranſactions,
" which have been declared to be the principal Cauſes and
" Motives of it, I cannot ſit regardleſs of the preſent
" Events, or be unconcerned for the future Conſequences
" of a War, undertaken and ſupported by ſo powerful an
" Alliance.

" If ever any Occaſion required more than ordinary Pru-
" dence and Circumſpection, the preſent calls upon us to
" uſe our utmoſt Precaution, not to determine too haſtily
" upon ſo critical and important a Conjuncture; but to
" conſider thoroughly what the Honour and Dignity of my
" Crown and Kingdoms, the true Intereſt of my People,
" and the Engagements we are under, to the ſeveral Powers
" we are in Alliance with, may in Juſtice and Prudence
" require of us.

" I have therefore thought it proper to take Time to ex-
" amine the Facts alledged on both Sides, and to wait the
" Reſult of the Councils of thoſe Powers, that are more
" nearly and immediately intereſted in the Conſequences of
" the War, and to concert with thoſe Allies, who are un-
" der the ſame Engagements with me, and have not taken
" Part in the War, more particularly the States-General of
" the United-Provinces, ſuch Meaſures as ſhall be thought
" moſt adviſeable for our common Safety, and for reſtoring
" the Peace of Europe.

" The Reſolutions of the Britiſh Parliament, in ſo nice a
" Juncture, are of too great Moment not to be carefully
" attended to, and impatiently expected, by all, and not
" the leaſt by thoſe, who will hope to take Advantage from
" your Determinations, whatever they ſhall be, and to turn
" them to the Prejudice of this Kingdom. It muſt there-
" fore be thought moſt ſafe and prudent, thoroughly to
" weigh and conſider all Circumſtances, before we come to
" a final Determination.

" As I ſhall have, in all my Conſiderations upon this
" great and important Affair, the ſtricteſt Regard to the
" Honour of my Crown, and the Good of my People, and
" be governed by no other Views, I can make no Doubt,
" but that I may entirely depend on the Support and Aſſi-
" ſtance of my Parliament, without expoſing myſelf, by
" any precipitate Declarations, to ſuch Inconveniencies, as
" ought, as far as poſſible, to be avoided.

" In the mean Time, I am perſuaded, you will make
" ſuch Proviſions, as ſhall ſecure my Kingdoms, Rights,
" and Poſſeſſions, from all Dangers and Inſults, and main-
" tain the Reſpect due to the Britiſh Nation: Whatever

" Part

" Part it may, in the End, be moſt reaſonable for us to act, " it will, in all Views, be neceſſary, when all Europe is " preparing for Arms, to put ourſelves in a proper Poſture " of Defence. As this will beſt preſerve the Peace of the " Kingdom, ſo it will give us a due Weight and Influence, " in whatever Meaſures we ſhall take in Conjunction with " our Allies: But ſhould the Defence of the Nation not " be ſufficiently provided for, it will make us diſregarded " abroad, and may prove a Temptation and Encouragement " to the deſperate Views of thoſe, who never fail to flat- " ter themſelves with the Hopes of great Advantages from " publick Troubles and Diſorders. Anno 7. Geo. II. 1733-34.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

" I ſhall order the Eſtimates to be laid before you of ſuch " Services, as require your preſent and immediate Care. " The Augmentation, which will be propoſed for the Sea " Service, will be very conſiderable; but I am confident it " will be thought by you reaſonable and neceſſary. I muſt " particularly recommend to your Care the Debt of the " Navy, which has every Year been laid before you; but, " from the preſent Circumſtances of the Times, I believe " you will think it now requires ſome Proviſions to be " made for it, which cannot well be longer poſtpon'd, " without manifeſt Detriment to the publick Service.

" As theſe extraordinary Charges and Expences are una- " voidable, I make no Doubt but you will effectually raiſe " the Supplies neceſſary for defraying of them, with that Rea- " dineſs and Diſpatch, and with that juſt Regard to the true " Intereſt of my People, which this Parliament has hitherto " ſhewn upon all Occaſions.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" It is at all Times to be wiſhed, that the Buſineſs of " Parliament might be carry'd on free from Heats and " Animoſities, and with that Temper, which becomes the " Juſtice and Wiſdom of the Nation: At this Time it is " more particularly to be deſired, that this Seſſion may not " be protracted by unneceſſary Delays, when the whole " Kingdom ſeems prepared for the Election of a new Par- " liament; an Event which employs the Attention of all " Europe: And I am very well pleaſed, that this Oppor- " tunity offers of taking again the Senſe of my People in " the Choice of a new Repreſentative, that the World may " ſee how much their true Sentiments have been miſtaken, " or miſrepreſented. Thoſe who ſee and hear only at a Di- " ſtance, may eaſily be impoſed upon, and from thence con- " ceive falſe Hopes or Fears; but I am confident a little " Time will effectually remove all groundleſs Surmiſes, and " it will be found that Great Britain is always to act that

Anno 7. Geo. II. 1733-34.

" Part, which the Honour and Intereſt of the Nation calls " upon them to undertake."

Mr John Campbell's Motion for an Addreſs of Thanks.

The Commons being return'd to their Houſe, and the Speaker having reported his Majeſty's Speech, Mr Campbell, Member for Pembrokeſhire, mov'd, 'That an Addreſs of Thanks be preſented to the King, for his moſt gracious Speech from the Throne: To acknowledge his Majeſty's Goodneſs in the Concern he had expreſs'd upon account of the War unhappily begun in Europe, and his Majeſty's great Wiſdom in uſing ſo much Precaution upon that critical Conjuncture, in waiting the Reſult of the Councils of thoſe Powers, who were more nearly and immediately intereſted in the Conſequences of the War, and in taking time to examine the Facts alledged on both Sides, and to concert with thoſe Allies, who were under the ſame Engagements with his Majeſty, and had not taken Part in the War, ſuch Meaſures, as ſhould be thought moſt adviſable for the common Safety, and for reſtoring the Peace of Europe: To declare their unfeigned Confidence in his Majeſty, that in all his Conſiderations upon that great and important Affair, his Majeſty would have the ſtricteſt Regard to the Honour and Dignity of his Crown and Kingdoms, and to the true Intereſt of his People: And to aſſure his Majeſty, that he might intirely depend upon the Support and Aſſiſtance of his faithful Commons, in ſuch Meaſures as he ſhould find it neceſſary to enter into, for attaining and ſecuring theſe great and valuable Purpoſes: And that that Houſe would make ſuch Proviſion for the Safety and Defence of the Nation, as ſhould ſecure his Majeſty's Kingdoms, Rights and Poſſeſſions from all Dangers and Inſults; as might preſerve the Reſpect due to the Crown of Great Britain; and not give any Encouragement to the deſperate Views of thoſe, who never fail to flatter themſelves with the Hopes of great Advantage from publick Troubles and Diſorders: And to aſſure his Majeſty, that that Houſe would immediately take into their Conſideration ſuch Eſtimates and Demands, as ſhould be made by his Majeſty for the publick Service; and raiſe the Supplies, which ſhould be neceſſary and anſwerable to the preſent Exigency of Affairs, with their known Zeal and Chearfulneſs, and with a due Regard to the Intereſt of their Fellow-Subjects: And, that the publick Buſineſs might be diſpatched with all proper Expedition, that they would endeavour to avoid all Heats and Animoſities, and all Occaſions that might tend to protract this Seſſion by unneceſſary Delays.'

Debate thereon. Mr Stephen Fox. Lord Tyrconnell.

Mr Campbell was ſeconded by Mr Stephen Fox, and back'd by Lord Tyrconnell: Hereupon Mr Shippen ſtood up and ſpoke as follows,

Mr Speaker,

Mr Speaker,

'I believe it has always been taken for granted, that the Speeches from the Throne are the Compoſitions of Miniſters of State; upon that Suppoſition we have always thought ourſelves at Liberty to examine every Propoſition contained in them; even without Doors People are pretty free in their Remarks upon them: I believe no Gentleman here is ignorant of the Reception the Speech from the Throne, at the Cloſe of laſt Seſſion, met with from the Nation in general. It is not to be doubted, but the ſame Freedom may be taken with any Propoſition made by any Gentleman in this Houſe, in conſequence of ſuch Speech. I will not ſay the Queſtion moved by the Honourable Gentleman, was penned by the ſame Hand that penned his Majeſty's Speech tho' there is a good deal of Reaſon to believe it.

'As to the Motion, I have one very great Objection to the whole; it is too cautiouſly and too generally worded: Under ſuch general Expreſſions there may be Deſigns concealed, which the Gentleman, who penned the Motion, does not think proper now to declare; but when they come to be explained, this Houſe may then probably find itſelf drawn into ſome Difficulties, by making uſe of ſuch uncertain Expreſſions in the Addreſs now propoſed. There is indeed one Paragraph, which I ſhall now particularly lay my Finger on: I cannot pretend to repeat the very Words, for we, who hear the Speech and the Motion but once read, are obliged in ſome manner to ſhoot flying; I think it propoſes for us to ſay in our Addreſs, 'That we will ſupport his Majeſty in all 'thoſe Meaſures, which he ſhall think it neceſſary to enter 'into.' Now, I am afraid, that under ſuch a general Expreſſion, there may be couched, or at leaſt it may hereafter be inſiſted on that there is couched, a Promiſe of a Vote of Credit, and therefore I ſhould be willing to have thoſe Words a little explained; for I ſhall always endeavour, as much as I can, to prevent this Houſe being raſhly drawn into ſuch Promiſes: I ſhall not pretend to offer any Amendment till I have heard other Gentlemen's Sentiments; I now only lay my Finger upon this Part of the Motion; after other Gentlemen have ſpoke, I may poſſibly give my Opinion farther, and perhaps offer an Amendment; but I could wiſh rather that the Words were left out.'

Sir John Hynde Cotton ſpoke next:

Sir John Hynde Cotton.

Mr Speaker,

'I agree in a great Meaſure with the Motion; but I have an Objection to the Paſſage where we promiſe to provide for the Security of his Majeſty's Kingdoms, *Rights*, and *Poſſeſſions*: Now, Sir, theſe laſt Words are ſo general, that I am afraid they may include his Majeſty's German Dominions

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nions; I am perſuaded they will be underſtood in this Senſe by all without Doors, whatever this Houſe may intend to mean by it: The Gentleman who opened the Debate has, 'tis true, ſatisfy'd me and I believe every Gentleman in the Houſe, that no ſuch Thing is intended; but I think it likewiſe neceſſary to ſatisfy the World without Doors; I think it incumbent upon us, to aſſure our Conſtituents, that no ſuch Thing was ever meant, and therefore I think it will be proper to add ſome explanatory Words; for which Reaſon I ſhall beg Leave to move for this Amendment, viz. that the Words, *thereunto belonging*, may be added after the Word *Poſſeſſions*, ſo that the Sentence will run thus, 'As ſhall ſecure his Majeſty's Kingdoms, Rights and 'Poſſeſſions, thereunto belonging, from all Dangers and In-'ſults.'

Mr Campbell.

Hereupon Mr Campbell replied:

Mr Speaker,

'I believe I did open the Affair before us in the Manner the honourable Gentleman was pleaſed to mention: But it was not from an Opinion, that there really was any Poſſibility for putting ſuch a Senſe upon thoſe Words, as the Gentleman ſeems to be apprehenſive of: They are ſo fully explained, both by what goes before, and by what comes after, that there is no Room for imagining, they ever were meant to comprehend his Majeſty's German Dominions; every Man muſt ſee they relate only to the foreign Rights and Poſſeſſions belonging to the Crown of Great Britain: I gave ſome Explanation of them, only to preclude any Exception being taken, by Gentlemen's conſidering thoſe general Words by themſelves, and without Regard to what went before, or followed after: But to any Gentleman either within or without Doors, who conſiders the whole together, there cannot ſo much as a Doubt ariſe about the Meaning; they can relate to nothing but what belongs to his Majeſty as King of Great Britain, therefore I cannot think there is the leaſt Occaſion for the Amendment propoſed.'

Lord Coleraine.

Then Lord Coleraine ſtood up and ſaid:

Mr Speaker,

'The Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, has not in the leaſt ſatisfied me, as to the Meaning to be put upon the Words objected to; for if thoſe Words be taken in a ſtrict grammatical Senſe, they muſt certainly comprehend his Majeſty's German Dominions: Thoſe Dominions are certainly a Part of his Majeſty's Poſſeſſions, and as ſuch muſt be comprehended under thoſe general Words; nor can I ſee any Reſtriction put upon them, either by what goes before, or what follows after; even the Amendment propoſed, will not, I am afraid, be ſufficient to reſtrain them as they ought to be,

and

and therefore I am of Opinion, that the Amendment ought to be in theſe Words, *belonging to the Crown of Great Britain*; ſo as that the Sentence may run thus, 'As ſhall 'ſecure his Majeſty's Kingdoms, and all the Rights and 'Poſſeſſions *belonging to the Crown of Great Britain*, from 'all Dangers and Inſults.'

Mr Henry Pelham ſpoke next, as follows: Mr H. Pelham.

Mr Speaker,

'The Queſtion moved by the honourable Gentleman was, I thought, ſo aptly worded, and, to uſe my worthy Friend's Expreſſion, ſo cautiouſly worded, that I did not imagine any Objection would have been made to it. As to the Words, *Rights* and *Poſſeſſions*, the proper Meaning of them ſeems to me certain and apparent: Doubts have lately been raiſed about ſome of thoſe Dominions, which properly belong to the Crown of Great Britain; and tho' there never was any Foundation for thoſe Doubts, yet ſome Gentlemen have ſtrongly inſiſted there was ſtill ſomething wanting, ſomething farther neceſſary to be done, in order to ſecure her Enjoyment of thoſe Poſſeſſions: From that Conſideration alone, if there were no other, every Gentleman muſt conclude, all that could be meant by thoſe general Words, was, to comprehend the ſeveral Britiſh Poſſeſſions in foreign Parts; but as to his Majeſty's German Dominions, as they in no way belong to the Crown of Great Britain, which is mentioned in the very next Sentence, I can't believe any Gentleman in this Houſe, or without Doors, will ever imagine they were meant to be comprehended under thoſe general Words, therefore I can't think any Amendment neceſſary.'

Then Mr Pulteney ſtood up and ſaid: Mr Pulteney.

Mr Speaker,

'When I heard his Majeſty's Speech, and the Motion made by the honourable Gentleman, I was in Hopes, Sir, we ſhould have ſeparated to Day without any Debate; yet I muſt own, the Words taken Notice of by my honourable Friend [*Mr Shippen*] did at firſt ſtrike me a little. I was indeed a little afraid of the Conſequences, or at leaſt of the Uſe that might be made of ſuch Words, but I was reſolved to paſs them over in Silence: However, now they are taken Notice of, I muſt ſay, ſome Amendment in order to reſtrain them a little, will not be unneceſſary. I am not for leaving them out entirely, becauſe one Part of his Majeſty's Speech would ſtand without any Anſwer; and I am unwilling this Houſe ſhould, upon any Occaſion, ſhew the leaſt Want of Reſpect and Complaiſance towards his Majeſty. I therefore take the Liberty to propoſe an Amendment, but I muſt acquaint the Houſe, that the Motion I am to make

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make, is without any View of making a Difference or Diviſion among us this Day; nor ſhall I inſiſt upon it, if not entirely agreeable to every Gentleman in this Houſe. I know very well, we are not tied down by any general Expreſſions in an Addreſs of Thanks to his Majeſty: But I remember, a Vote of Credit paſſed in this Houſe, towards the Cloſe of a Seſſion, [*See Vol.* I. *p.* 393.] for which there was no other Foundation but ſome general Expreſſions in the Addreſs of Thanks, which had been voted the firſt Day of the Seſſion, in Anſwer to his Majeſty's Speech from the Throne; and therefore we ought to be extremely cautious in agreeing to any Sort of Words, from whence the Promiſe of a Vote of Credit may be afterwards inferred: For this Reaſon I ſhall beg Leave to add a few Words by Way of Amendment, *viz. Provided ſuch Meaſures ſhall appear to this Houſe to have been neceſſary for obtaining ſuch Ends.* In which Caſe the Paragraph, taken Notice of by my worthy Friend, will run thus, 'And to aſſure his 'Majeſty, that he may entirely depend upon the Support 'and Aſſiſtance of his faithful Commons, in ſuch Meaſures 'as he ſhall find it neceſſary to enter into, for attaining and 'ſecuring theſe great and valuable Purpoſes; *provided* ſuch 'Meaſures ſhall appear to the Houſe to have been neceſſary 'for obtaining ſuch Ends.'

Sir R. Walpole.

To this Sir Robert Walpole replied:

Mr Speaker,

'The honourable Gentleman who ſpoke laſt has propoſed an Amendment, but has not made any direct Motion for that Purpoſe; and he was pleaſed to ſay, what he propoſed was without any View of making a Difference or Diviſion among us; I am very glad to find that Gentleman is now come to be of that Way of Thinking, for nothing can contribute more to the Honour of this Houſe, than a Harmony and Unanimity in all our Proceedings; therefore I hope the Gentleman will not inſiſt upon the Amendment he has propoſed.

'One of the Objections to the Queſtion before us, made by the Gentleman, who ſpoke firſt againſt it, was, that it was too general, and worded with too much Caution: This is an Objection of a very new Nature; the chief Objection to Addreſſes of this Nature has generally been, that they deſcended too much into Particulars, and were not worded with proper Caution. From this general Objection the Gentleman was pleaſed to come to a Particular, and took Notice of ſome Words under which, he ſaid, he believed a Vote of Credit was intended to be couched: But does not every Gentleman in this Houſe know, that his Majeſty never deſires any ſuch Thing as a Promiſe of a Vote of Credit, nor has

has it ever been uſual, for this Houſe to make any ſuch Promiſe? The uſual Method has always been, whenever his Majeſty wanted any ſuch Thing as a Vote of Credit, he always acquainted the Houſe of it by a direct Meſſage for that Purpoſe; therefore there is now no Ground to preſume an Intention of couching a Promiſe of a Vote of Credit, under any general Words propoſed to be put into the Addreſs.

'As to the Caſe mentioned by the honourable Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, I don't remember there was ever any Vote of Credit, founded upon a pretended Promiſe contained in the Addreſs of Thanks at the Beginning of the Seſſion. There may have been a Caſe, but I cannot ſay whether it may have been a late Caſe, or one of an older Date: However this I am certain of, that no ſuch Thing is intended by the Words now objected to, nor will there, I believe, be any ſuch Uſe made of them.

'The other Objection is equally without Foundation. I do not believe it can ſo much as once enter into the Heart of any Man to imagine, that by the Words *Rights and Poſſeſſions*, this Houſe means to include his Majeſty's German Dominions: If ever thoſe Dominions ſhould come to be in ſuch Danger, as that his Majeſty ſhould find it neceſſary to ask the Aſſiſtance of this Nation, he would certainly do it by a direct Meſſage to Parliament; I am very ſure, at preſent, no ſuch Thing is thought of, nor is there the leaſt Shadow of Reaſon for ſuſpecting there will be any Occaſion for ſuch Demand: The Words, *Rights and Poſſeſſions*, muſt therefore be underſtood to relate only to the foreign Poſſeſſions belonging to Great Britain; had thoſe Words been left out, to willing Minds, at leaſt, it would have afforded a Pretence for the raiſing of much greater Alarms without Doors; it then might probably have been ſaid, that we were going to give up ſome of thoſe valuable Poſſeſſions we have abroad; Poſſeſſions ſo valuable, that I hope this Nation will never conſent to give them up.'

'Upon the whole, Sir, however unwilling ſome Gentlemen may pretend to be, to create Differences and make Diviſions in this Houſe, I am perſuaded, nothing but a Deſire to do ſo, could have raiſed Objections to the Queſtion now in your Hand, and as I have not heard any Colour of Reaſon for ſupporting the Amendments offered, I muſt be againſt them.'

Sir William Wyndham ſpoke next: Sir W. Wyndham.

Mr Speaker,

'Tho' the honourable Gentleman, who ſpoke laſt, does not ſeem to remember the Caſe mentioned by the Gentleman who ſpoke juſt before him, I remember it well, and I ſpeak of it

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with the greater Confidence, becauſe this very Morning I look'd over ſome of the Journals of the Houſe, together with my honourable Friend, by which I found that famous Vote of Credit was agreed to in this Houſe, April 12, 1727. towards the Cloſe of the Seſſion: I remember there was a very thin Houſe, and no other Foundation for that Vote, hardly indeed any material Argument offered in Favour of it, than what has been mentioned by my honourable Friend. I remember it bore a very ſtrenuous Debate, and that the Gentleman [*Mr Winnington*] who ſits behind the honourable Perſon who ſpoke laſt, had a very conſiderable Share in that Debate, and was one of the Tellers againſt the Queſtion.

'Whether any ſuch Uſe is now intended to be made of the general Expreſſions objected to, I ſhall not ſay; but that I do not take to be the Matter in Diſpute: The proper Queſtion is whether any ſuch Uſe can be made of thoſe general Expreſſions? For if it can, we are not to depend upon the Aſſurances of any Member of this Houſe that it will not; therefore, leſt any ſuch Uſe ſhould hereafter be made of thoſe general Expreſſions, it is highly neceſſary ſome Words ſhould be added, for reſtraining them to what is now declared to be the Meaning and Intention of them: For my own Part, I am very eaſy about it, becauſe I am now free to declare, that if ever any Vote of Credit of the ſame Nature with thoſe lately agreed to, be propoſed or moved for in this Houſe, I ſhall always be againſt any ſuch, as long as I have the Honour to ſit in this Houſe; nor ſhall any general Words, or any expreſs Promiſe contained in any former Addreſs, be of the leaſt Weight with me in ſuch a Debate.'

Mr Winnington. Mr Gibbon. Mr Sandys. Sir Wil. Yonge.

Hereupon Mr Winnington gave an Account of the Vote of Credit agreed to in the Year 1727: But Mr Gibbon and Mr Sandys objecting to his Account of that Tranſaction, Sir William Yonge ſpoke as follows:

Mr Speaker,

'I was at ſome Diſtance, when the honourable Gentleman on the Floor firſt mentioned the Caſe, which ſeems now to be the Subject of Debate; and tho' I had not look'd into the Journals this Morning, yet I could not but think it was impoſſible, that ever any Houſe of Commons ſhould have proceeded in the Manner repreſented. I have now look'd upon the Journals of that and the preceeding Seſſion, and as I have the Book in my Hand, I ſhall from thence ſet that Matter in a clear Light. In the Year 1726, his late Majeſty ſent an expreſs Meſſage to the Houſe of Commons then ſitting, [*See Vol.* I. *p.* 369.] by which he acquainted them, that in order to prevent and fruſtrate ſuch Deſigns, as had been formed againſt the particular Intereſt of this Nation and the general Peace of Europe, he found it neceſſary not

not only to augment his Maritime Force, but to concert ſuch other Meaſures as might moſt effectually conduce to theſe deſirable Ends; and as theſe Services would require ſome extraordinary Expence, his Majeſty hoped he ſhould be enabled, by the Aſſiſtance of Parliament, to encreaſe the Number of Seamen then before voted and granted for the Service of that Year; and to enter into and make good ſuch Engagements, as the Circumſtances and Exigency of Affairs might require. Upon this Meſſage, the Houſe of Commons, as in Duty they ought, voted and preſented an Addreſs to his Majeſty, [*See Vol.* I. *p.* 370.] that he would be pleaſed to make ſuch Addition to the Number of Seamen then before voted; and to concert ſuch other Meaſures, as his Majeſty ſhould in his great Wiſdom think would beſt conduce to the Security of the Trade and Navigation of this Kingdom, and to the Preſervation of the Peace of Europe; and aſſured his Majeſty, that the Houſe would effectually provide for, and make good all ſuch Expences and Engagements, as ſhould be made for obtaining thoſe great and deſirable Ends. Anno 7. Geo. II. 1733-34.

'At the Beginning of next Seſſion his Majeſty, in his Speech [*See Vol.* I. *p.* 375.] expreſly ſaid, That as the Expence, he had in the preceeding Year been in a particular Manner intruſted to make, had amounted to no conſiderable Sum; and the publick Utility might again require the like Services to be performed, he hoped they would again repoſe the ſame Truſt and Confidence in him. To this the Houſe of Commons, in their Addreſs of Thanks, [*See Vol.* I. *p.* 382.] as expreſly anſwer and promiſe, that they would repoſe ſuch a Truſt and Confidence in his Majeſty, as the publick Utility ſhould require, and as his Majeſty ſhould find reaſonable and neceſſary for carrying on the great Work, in which his Majeſty was engaged, for the Intereſt and Security of his People, and the common Cauſe of Europe.

'Thus every Gentleman may ſee, that the Vote of Credit agreed to at the End of that Seſſion, was not in Conſequence of a few general Words in their Addreſs of Thanks, in Return to his Majeſty's Speech at the Beginning of the Seſſion: But in Conſequence of an expreſs Demand in the Speech, and as expreſs a Promiſe in the Addreſs of Thanks; and from thence, I think, every Gentleman may ſee how vaſtly different that Caſe is from what is now the Subject of Debate.'

Then Mr Scrope ſtood up, and gave an exact Account of the ſeveral Votes of Credit paſſed by the Houſe; and declar'd it to be his Opinion, that there was no Occaſion for any Amendment to the Addreſs: Hereupon Mr Pulteney roſe up again and ſaid, Mr Scrope.

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Mr Pulteney.

Sir,

'The honourable Gentleman, who ſpoke laſt, has, in a few Words, explained how the ſeveral Votes of Credit have been granted; he and I do not differ much in our Accounts; but the honourable Gentleman, who ſpoke with the Book in his Hand, and ſet out with a Promiſe of clearing that Matter fully, has, in my Opinion, and, I believe, in the Opinion of every Gentleman who heard him, left the Matter juſt where he found it; therefore I would adviſe him, for the future, to ſpeak without Book.

'Can any Gentleman imagine, that, in Conſequence of the Paragraph of his late Majeſty's Speech mentioned by the honourable Gentleman, or the Anſwer thereto in the Addreſs of Thanks, a Vote of Credit was or ought to have been agreed to, without a new Meſſage from his Majeſty, ſignifying, that the publick Utility did actually again require the repoſing of ſuch a Truſt and Confidence in his Majeſty, as had been repoſed in him the preceeding Year? Does any Gentleman ſuppoſe, that this Houſe is to repoſe ſuch a Truſt and Confidence in the Crown, only becauſe it is demanded by the Crown, and without aſſigning any Reaſon for ſo doing? No, Sir, I appeal to every Gentleman preſent when that Addreſs was agreed to, whether he did not think, that all that was meant or intended by thoſe general Aſſurances in their Addreſs of Thanks, was, that they would again repoſe the ſame Truſt and Confidence in his Majeſty, if upon a new Meſſage, it could be ſhewn them, that the publick Utility required it: But Gentlemen found afterwards another Uſe made of thoſe general Expreſſions; they were at the End of the Seſſion made the only Argument for agreeing to a Vote of Credit; and leſt the ſame Thing ſhould be again practiſed, we ought to be extremely cautious of putting any ſuch general Expreſſions in our Addreſs of Thanks.

'When I firſt ſtood up, I ſaid I had no Intention of making a Diviſion or Difference amongſt us to Day, and the honourable Gentleman, who ſpoke next after me, ſaid, he was glad to find me in that Way of Thinking. Sir, I am now in the ſame Way of Thinking I always was; and if other Gentlemen think in the ſame Way they have lately taken up, I am afraid we ſhall have many and great Differences before this Seſſion can well be at an End. The honourable Gentleman ſaid he did not remember, whether the Caſe of a Vote of Credit I mentioned was of a late or old Date: Alas, Sir, there are no ſuch Votes of Credit to be found of an old Date; Votes of Credit of old were of a very different Nature, they were never ſo much as aſked, but for ſome particular Purpoſes expreſly mentioned; the Sum was always

always limited; the Parliament became Sureties only for that Sum; and an exact Account was afterwards given to Parliament to what Purpoſes the Money ſo granted was applied: But our late Votes of Credit have all been granted in the Dark; we have granted Sums unlimited without knowing to what Uſes the Money ſo to be raiſed was to be applied; and we could never have any proper Account, tho' often aſked for, how the Money was diſpoſed of. Anno 7. Geo. II. 1733-34.

'However, Sir, tho' I wiſh we may ſeparate to Day without any Diviſion, yet I hope we ſhall have many Days after this to enter into the Conſideration of Affairs of very great Conſequence. The calamitous Situation of our Affairs both at Home and Abroad neceſſarily requires the Conſideration of Parliament: There are many, many Grievances both foreign and domeſtick, under which the Nation groans at preſent, and which call loudly for Redreſs; therefore, tho' we promiſe not to protract or prolong the Seſſion by unneceſſary Delays, yet I hope we ſhall not ſeparate before we have taken all thoſe Matters properly under our Conſideration: The State of the Nation muſt be called for, and, I dare ſay, this Houſe of Commons, which has ſhewn ſo much Regard for their Fellow-Subjects, will envy any ſucceeding Houſe of Commons the Glory of redreſſing thoſe many Grievances we now labour under: On ſuch an Occaſion, I hope, Gentlemen will be emulous who ſhall attend beſt; and when ſuch a Spirit of Liberty appears over the whole Nation, I am convinced no Man will dare deſert his Duty in this Houſe, when Affairs of ſuch Moment demand his Attendance in Parliament.'

Mr Campbell's Motion agreed to.

The above Amendments not being inſiſted on, the Queſtion was put upon Mr Campbell's Motion, and agreed to without a Diviſion: A Committee was alſo appointed to draw up an Addreſs of Thanks accordingly.

January 18. The ſaid Addreſs was reported to the Houſe and agreed to, as follows:

The Addreſs.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

'WE your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament aſſembled, beg Leave to return your Majeſty our humbleſt Thanks for your moſt gracious Speech from the Throne.

'We are truly ſenſible of your Majeſty's Goodneſs; and hear with the deepeſt Senſe of Gratitude the Concern you are pleaſed to expreſs, for the War unhappily begun in Europe; and acknowledge with the higheſt Satisfaction this new Proof your Majeſty has given us, of your great Wiſdom in waiting at this nice and critical Juncture, the Reſult of the Councils of thoſe Powers, who are more

'nearly

Anno 7. Geo. II. 1733-34.

'nearly and immediately intereſted in the Conſequences of 'this War, before your Majeſty makes any final Determi-'nation for your own Conduct; not wondering, that the 'ſame Prudence and Precaution, the ſame Concern and 'Circumſpection, that have guided and directed every Step 'hitherto taken in your Majeſty's happy and auſpicious 'Reign, ſhould now induce you to take Time to examine 'the Facts alledged on both Sides, and to concert with thoſe 'Allies, who are under the ſame Engagements with your 'Majeſty without having taken Part in the War, particu-'larly the States General of the United Provinces, ſuch 'Meaſures, as ſhall be thought moſt adviſeable for the com-'mon Safety, and for reſtoring the Peace of Europe.

'That your Majeſty in all your Tranſactions, in this 'great and important Affair, will have the ſtricteſt Regard 'to the Honour and Dignity of your Crown and King-'dom, and to the true Intereſt of your People, is what not 'only your Majeſty's royal Aſſurances, but our happy Ex-'perience of all your Majeſty's paſt Conduct leave us no 'Room to doubt.

'And as we have an entire Confidence in your Majeſty's 'Judgment to diſcern, and Solicitude to procure the Wel-'fare and Intereſt of your Subjects, ſo your Majeſty may 'depend upon the effectual Support and ready Aſſiſtance of 'your faithful Commons in all ſuch Meaſures, as your Ma-'jeſty ſhall find it neceſſary to enter into for attaining and 'ſecuring theſe great Ends.

'And we beg Leave farther to aſſure your Majeſty, that 'your Commons will make ſuch Proviſion for the Safety 'of your Kingdoms, as the preſent Situation of Affairs and 'Exigency of the Times require; ſuch Proviſions, as ſhall 'effectually ſecure your Majeſty's Kingdoms, Rights, and 'Poſſeſſions, from all Inſults and Dangers; as ſhall preſerve 'the Reſpect due to the Britiſh Nation Abroad, and guard 'its Safety at Home; that not the leaſt Encouragement may 'be given to the deſperate Views of thoſe, who never fail 'to flatter themſelves with Hopes of ſome Advantage from 'Publick Troubles and Diſorders, and of moleſting the in-'ſeparable Intereſts of your Majeſty and your People.

'Such Eſtimates and Demands, as your Majeſty ſhall 'think fit to lay before your Commons for the Publick Ser-'vice, ſhall be immediately taken into our Conſideration; 'and your Majeſty may depend on our known Zeal for 'raiſing ſuch Supplies, as ſhall be neceſſary and anſwerable 'to the preſent Circumſtances, with our uſual Chearfulneſs 'and approved Fidelity, and a due Regard both to the Eaſe 'and Intereſt of our Fellow Subjects.

'And

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'And that the Publick Buſineſs may be diſpatched with 'all proper Expedition, and the preſent Seſſion not protract-'ed by any unneceſſary Delays, we will endeavour to avoid 'all Heats and Animoſities, and to proceed with that Una-'nimity, which the Juſtice and Prudence of your Majeſty's 'mild and wiſe Government may expect and claim, and 'may give Weight to our Deliberations, and maintain the 'Dignity of Parliament.'

Jan. 19. The above Addreſs was preſented to the King, who return'd the following Anſwer:

The King's Anſwer thereto.

Gentlemen,

"I Return you my Thanks for this very dutiful, affectio-"nate, and loyal Addreſs, and for the Confidence you "repoſe in Me, which, you may be aſſured, ſhall always "be employed for the Honour of my Crown, and the true "Intereſt of my People."

An Addreſs for a Copy of the Treaty between his Majeſty and the Emperor, in 1731. Reſolv'd on.

Jan. 23. The Houſe reſolv'd, That an Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to give Directions, that a Copy of the Treaty between his Majeſty and the Emperor, concluded at Vienna in the Year 1731, with the ſecret and ſeparate Articles, and the States Generals Act of Concurrence to the ſame, ſhould be laid before the Houſe. Then Sir John Ruſhout ſtood up, and mov'd, 'That an humble Addreſs be preſent-'ed to his Majeſty, that he would be pleaſed to give Direc-'tion, that the Letters and Inſtructions ſent to his Majeſty's Miniſters at the Court of France and Spain, relating to the Execution of the Treaty of Seville, ſhould be alſo laid be-'fore the Houſe; upon which enſu'd a Debate, in which Sir William Yonge ſpoke as follows:

Sir J. Ruſhout moves for Copies of the Inſtructions ſent to the Britiſh Miniſters in France and Spain, relating to the Execution of the Treaty of Seville, to be laid before the Houſe.

Debate thereon.

Sir W. Yonge.

Sir,

'I do not ſtand up, to ſay any Thing againſt the Power, which this Houſe has of calling for whatever Papers they may think neceſſary, to give them proper Lights into any Affair they are going to take under Conſideration: That the Houſe has ſuch a Power, is what I believe no Gentleman will deny; but then every one muſt grant, that this Power ought to be uſed with great Caution and Diſ-cretion; no Papers ought to be called for, but thoſe which properly relate to the Affair in Hand, and without which it would be impoſſible to underſtand fully and clearly what we are to be about. It has been reſolved to addreſs his Majeſty, to order a Copy of the Treaty of Vienna to be laid before us, but I cannot apprehend what Connection there is or can be, between that Treaty and the Letters and In-ſtructions ſent to our Miniſters at the Courts of France and Spain, relating to the Treaty of Seville. Can it be ſup-poſed,

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poſed, that thoſe Letters and Inſtructions have any Relation or Concern with a Treaty afterwards concluded with the Emperor, who was not at that Time in good Terms with either of the other two Courts? As all ſuch Negotiations are carry'd on in the moſt ſecret Manner poſſible, it cannot, in my Opinion, be ſuppoſed, that our Miniſters, either at the Court of France or Spain, knew any Thing of thoſe Negotiations at Vienna, which ſo happily ended in that Treaty; and therefore it is impoſſible to ſuppoſe, that we can, from the Letters and Inſtructions ſent to them, receive any Light or Information, with reſpect to the Treaty of Vienna now called for.

'But granting, Sir, that ſome poſſible Connection might be found out, between the Treaty of Vienna and the Letters and Inſtructions which the honourable Gentleman has been pleaſed to move for, yet there is another Rule to be obſerv'd in the uſing that Power which this Houſe has of calling for Papers, which, in the preſent Caſe will be an effectual Bar to the Motion: Tho' this Houſe has a Power of calling for Papers, yet we ought in no Caſe to call for thoſe Papers which may contain Secrets, the publiſhing whereof might be of ſignal Diſadvantage to the Commonwealth; I believe it will be granted, that a Secret communicated once to this Houſe, is in great Danger of not remaining long a Secret: It was never known that a Secret was long kept by any ſuch numerous Aſſembly; and therefore we ought to be extremely cautious, and never call for any Papers which may contain ſuch Secrets. For my own Part, I do not pretend to know the Nature of thoſe Inſtructions or Letters; but it is certain, that ſome of them may contain ſomething not proper to be publiſh'd to the World at this Juncture; the publiſhing of them might, perhaps, open old Sores, and give Offence to ſome of thoſe Powers with whom we have at preſent a good Underſtanding; by which his Majeſty's Negotiations for reſtoring the Tranquility of Europe might be very much embaraſſed, perhaps render'd entirely fruitleſs; and therefore I cannot but think, that any ſuch general Call for Papers is now, and always will be of dangerous Conſequence.

'If this Houſe ſhould at any Time hereafter reſolve to take the Treaty of Seville into their Conſideration, when that Day comes, if any Gentleman of this Houſe can then lay his Finger on any particular Paper, which he thinks may be neceſſary for the Information of the Houſe, he may then move for it, and the Houſe may, if they think proper, agree to ſuch a Motion: But to make ſuch a general Motion as the preſent, and to call for all the Letters and Inſtructions ſent to our Miniſters at thoſe two Courts in general, I think

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hink moſt improper and irregular, and therefore I ſhall give my Negative to it.'

Sir William Wyndham.

To this Sir William Wyndham reply'd,

Sir,

'Notwithſtanding what the honourable Gentleman, who ſpoke laſt, has ſaid, I cannot help being of Opinion, that he Motion made by my honourable Friend is regular, nd that the Papers he has called for, are ſuch as muſt neeſſarily tend to give the Houſe a great deal of Informaion, not only with relation to the Treaty of Seville, but ikewiſe with relation to the Treaty which we ſhall ſoon ave, I hope, laid before us, in Purſuance of the Reſoution we have juſt now come to; and therefore I take it o be as proper now, as it can be when the Day comes hich the Gentleman ſpeaks of.

'As to any Secret which may be contain'd in the Papers all'd for, and which it would not be proper at preſent to ubliſh to the World, that can be no Argument againſt he Motion; becauſe, if that ſhould happen to be the aſe, his Majeſty would communicate to us none but ſuch contained no ſuch Secrets; and in his Anſwer to our Adreſs would acquaint us, that the other Letters or Inſtrucons contained ſuch Secrets as were not proper to be reeal'd at preſent: This would be a proper Anſwer from his ajeſty, and ſuch an Anſwer as this Houſe would certainly eſt ſatisfied with, unleſs ſome very ſtrong Reaſons appeared the contrary: But, Sir, this is an Anſwer which ought ot to be taken from any other Perſon but his Majeſty; It below the Dignity of this Houſe to take it from any other; is what no Member of this Houſe ought ſo much as to inuate; for any ſuch Inſinuation is offering an Indignity the Crown, becauſe it ſeems to be a dictating to his Maty, and preſcribing to him what Anſwer he is to make the Addreſs of this Houſe. The Gentleman ſpoke of ening old Sores, and that the publiſhing of thoſe Papers ight give Offence to ſome of thoſe Powers we are now in iendſhip with: This ſeems to be a very extraordinary eaſon againſt the Motion; for I am ſure this Reaſon will old equally good againſt calling for any Treaty, or any aper relating to foreign Negotiations; and I can ſee no ifference between denying that the Houſe has a Power to ll for any Papers, and making Uſe of an Argument, hich, if allow'd, would render that Power altogether infectual: But, Sir, I would gladly know what Prince, what tate there is now in Europe, whom we have not diſobliged d fallen out with by Turns; and ſhall it be ſaid, that the ubliſhing of thoſe Negotiations which we carry'd on while e were at Enmity, or at leaſt not in a cordial Friendſhip

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with them, will open thoſe Sores which were entirely healed up by a new Treaty afterward concluded with them? Does not every Gentleman ſee, that this Argument ſtrikes againſt this Houſe's ever deſiring to have any foreign Treaty or Negotiation laid before them, except ſuch as have been before publiſhed to the World?

'As to the Connection between the Papers now moved for and the Treaty juſt before call'd for, it is in my Opinion evident: For what End have we called for a Copy of the Treaty of Vienna? What are we to conſider of, when we enter into the Conſideration of that Treaty? Are not we to conſider, whether it was for the Benefit of this Nation, or not? And how ſhall we determine this, without knowing the Circumſtances, or thoſe Affairs, which made it neceſſary for us to conclude ſuch a burthenſome Treaty? It is well known, that by that Treaty we enter'd into very great Engagements; Engagements, which, if punctually perform'd, may coſt this Nation infinite Sums of Money; and Engagements which we certainly ought not to have enter'd into, if the publick Tranquility could have been eſtabliſhed at any cheaper Rate. Is it to be preſumed, that the Impoſſibility, which was found of carrying the Treaty of Seville into Execution, without involving ourſelves and all Europe in a bloody War, was what made it neceſſary for us to agree to thoſe Engagements contain'd in the Treaty of Vienna: And how is it poſſible for us to determine, whether or no there was an Impoſſibility of carrying the Treaty of Seville into Execution, without having all thoſe Papers firſt laid before us, which relate to the Execution of that Treaty? It was, I remember, when firſt concluded, a Treaty which was much bragg'd of by the Friends of the Gentleman who ſpoke laſt; and if it was ſo good a Thing, I cannot find out why he or his Friends ſhould be ſo fond of keeping ſecret either the Means by which it was obtain'd, or the Methods that were afterwards uſed for carrying it into Execution. As to the Means by which that Treaty was obtain'd, they may not, perhaps, relate much to the Treaty of Vienna; but as to the Methods uſed for carrying it into Execution, the laſt of which was the Treaty of Vienna, every Man muſt ſee the Connection, and therefore every Man muſt be convinced, that it is neceſſary for us to have the Papers now moved for laid before us, before we can properly take the Treaty of Vienna into our Conſideration.

'His Majeſty, Sir, in his Speech from the Throne, recommends the preſent Situation of Affairs to the Conſideration of Parliament; he recommends it to us throughly to weigh and conſider all Circumſtances before we come to a final Determination; but if ſuch Things as are neceſſary for

our

our Information are, when call'd for, refuſed by thoſe in Power, how is it poſſible for us to anſwer his Majeſty's Expectations? It muſt be owned, that we have of late Years been in very odd Circumſtances; and our preſent Situation may, perhaps, in the Opinion of many, be owing, in ſome Meaſure to the Miſmanagement of thoſe in the Adminiſtration; I ſhall not ſay it is ſo; but if this be not the Caſe, I can ſee no Reaſon for refuſing the Papers now called for; and if this be really the Caſe, it ought certainly to be inquir'd into; and the Papers now call'd for, as well as a great many others, muſt neceſſarily be laid before us, in order to enable us to make a proper Inquiry, and to apply proper Remedies for thoſe Evils which the Nation labours under at preſent. Upon the whole, Sir, as I ſaid at firſt, I think the Motion now made to us moſt regular; I think it is abſolutely neceſſary for us to have thoſe Papers laid before us; for without them, I am ſure, the Reſolution we have juſt now come to can be of no Effect, and therefore I hope the Houſe will agree to the Motion.'

Sir Robert Walpole ſpoke next: Sir R. Walpole.

Sir,

'I ſtand up to agree in ſome Part with the honourable Gentleman who ſpoke laſt: If we are at preſent in any unhappy Situation, and if it be but thought, by any Gentleman in this Houſe, that that Situation is any Ways owing to the Miſmanagement of thoſe in the Adminiſtration, in my Opinion, whoever thinks ſo, ought to move for this Houſe's going into ſuch an Inquiry; they ought to move for the Houſe to go into a Committee upon the State of the Nation; and, upon the Foot of ſuch an Inquiry, I will willingly join Iſſue with the honourable Gentleman, or any other Gentleman in this Houſe. Whenever the Houſe ſhall pleaſe to reſolve upon going into ſuch a Committee, I promiſe, that ſo far as lies in my Power, nothing ſhall be refuſed, that is thought proper or neceſſary for giving the Houſe all the Information, that can be wiſhed or deſired: But as that Time is not yet come, I muſt think that the Motion now under Conſideration is very irregular, and ſeems calculated rather for giving Gentlemen an Opportunity of declaiming againſt thoſe, who have the Honour to ſerve the Crown, than for procuring any proper Information to the Houſe, or any Advantage to the Country.

'It is uſual, Sir, for ſome People to make Motions, rather to fix unpopular Things on others, than to have any Information for themſelves: They make Motions in order to make a Figure in the Votes, which are ſent to all Parts of the Nation, and to ſerve ſome particular Ends of their own: When a Negative is put upon any ſuch Motion, they

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are then ready to cry out, 'We would have reliev'd you, we 'would have extricated you from all the Difficulties you 'labour under, but we were by Power deny'd the Means of 'doing it.' This, Sir, is a Piece of Management, it is a Sort of Parliamentary Play, which has always been practiſed by thoſe who oppoſe the Meaſures of the Adminiſtration; I remember it as long as I remember Parliaments, and have by my own Experience been acquainted with it: I can remember Motions made with no other View, but to have a Negative put upon them; and particularly at the Beginning of a Seſſion, the Language among ſuch Gentlemen has always been, 'We muſt give them no Reſt, but make Motion 'after Motion; if they agree in any Motion we make, it 'will diſtreſs them; and if they put a Negative upon every 'one, it will render them odious among the People.'

'This, I ſay, has been always the common Practice of thoſe who are reſolved, at any Rate, to oppoſe the Adminiſtration; but I muſt take Notice that to ſay, that any Motion in Parliament is refuſed by Power, is, in my Opinion, a very unparliamentary Way of ſpeaking: When any Motion is made, every Gentleman is at Liberty to debate with Freedom upon it, and to agree or diſagree as he thinks reaſonable; if it be rejected, it muſt be by a Majority of the Houſe, and becomes an Act of this Houſe; and to ſay, that what is an Act of the Houſe, is an Act of Power, is not, I think, ſpeaking in the Language of Parliament.

'I ſhall likewiſe agree with the honourable Gentleman, that when any Papers are moved to be called for, the Houſe is not to be told by any Member, or any but his Majeſty, that ſuch Papers contain Secrets which muſt not yet be diſcover'd; but I hope the Gentleman will agree with me, that it is below the Dignity of this Houſe to preſent inſignificant Addreſſes to his Majeſty; we are not to deſire of his Majeſty what, evidently and at firſt Sight, appears to be ſuch as his Majeſty cannot comply with; and therefore, when a Motion for any ſuch Addreſs is made, any Gentleman of the Houſe may, nay he ought, if he thinks ſo, to riſe up and ſhew to the Houſe, that what is deſired by the Addreſs moved for, is of ſuch a Nature, that his Majeſty cannot comply with it; and this I take to be the Caſe now before us. In moſt publick Negotiations, there are ſome Things may happen which ought never to be revealed; in every Negotiation, ſome Things, I believe, do happen, which ought not to be publiſhed to the World for a great many Years after; and therefore it muſt be very irregular to deſire his Majeſty to lay before this Houſe, that is, to publiſh to the World, all the Letters and Inſtructions relating to a Negotiation, which happen'd but a very few Years ago.

'Gentlemen

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'Gentlemen may aſſign what Cauſes they pleaſe for the Treaty of Vienna; but when that Treaty comes to be conſidered by this Houſe, I believe it will appear, that we thereby entered into no extraordinary or burdenſome Engagements; it will appear, I believe, that we are not thereby obliged to do any Thing, but what we were by the Nature of Things, and by the Circumſtances of the Affairs of Europe, obliged to do, if no ſuch Treaty had ever been made. If this ſhould appear, it will then be certain, that what the honourable Gentleman was pleaſed to mention, was not the true Cauſe, or the only Foundation of the Treaty of Vienna; ſo that, 'till this Houſe has entered into the Conſideration of the Treaty of Vienna, and has found that the Engagements thereby entered into were ſuch, as we ought not to have taken upon us, if there was any other Way left of carrying the Treaty of Seville into Execution, without entering into a War; 'till ſuch Time, I ſay, it cannot ſo much as be pretended, that there is any Connection between the Letters and Inſtructions relating to the Execution of the Treaty of Seville, and the Treaty of Vienna now reſolved to be called for; and therefore, 'till that Time, the Motion now before us cannot be a proper or a regular Motion.

'Before I conclude, Sir, I muſt take Notice, that the Way which ſome Gentlemen have got into, of making Panegyricks, and praiſing the Miniſters for their great and profound Wiſdom by way of Irony at one Time, and at other Times calling Names, ſuch as, *A cowardly Adminiſtration, a wheeling, ſhifting Miniſtry*; (though by the By, I never underſtood the preſent to be a ſhifting Adminiſtration; for, as I take it, the great Quarrel amongſt us is, that the Adminiſtration has not been ſhifted) ſuch a Way, I ſay, Sir, is a Method of Speaking, which very ill becomes any Member of this Houſe. Though I cannot agree with Gentlemen who ſay, that this Nation is at preſent in ſo unhappy a Situation; yet I muſt grant that the Affairs of Europe are not at preſent in a very happy Situation; and if the Errors or Miſmanagement of any of the Adminiſtration here, has contributed in the leaſt to the preſent Poſture of Affairs in Europe, I muſt think that they very little deſerve to ſerve the Crown; but really by ſome Gentlemen's way of Talking, one would imagine that the Miniſters of England were the Miniſters of Europe; or that Madneſs and Folly reigned at this Court, and that the moſt profound Wiſdom prevail'd at all others: If any unforeſeen Accidents abroad, if the Ambition of any foreign Prince, or the Miſconduct of any foreign Court, produce any untoward Effects, or occaſion any Troubles or Commotions in Europe, the Miniſters of

England

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England are immediately loaded with the Whole; it is they that have done the Miſchief, and they muſt anſwer for it. This, Sir, is a way of treating thoſe who have the Honour to ſerve the Crown, which to me really ſeems neither candid nor juſt: However, I ſhall trouble you no farther, but only to declare that I ſhall be againſt the Motion, which the honourable Gentleman has been pleaſed to make.'

To this Mr Shippen anſwer'd,

Sir,

Mr Shippen.

'As the honourable Gentleman, who ſpoke laſt, has made grievous Complaints of the Treatment he and his Friends receive from other Gentlemen, I am a good deal ſurprized that he ſhould, at the ſame time, fall into that very Error which he ſo much complains of in others; for to ſay, that Gentlemen make Motions, only for the Sake of having an Opportunity to declaim againſt thoſe in the Adminiſtration; or for the Sake of making a Figure in the Votes, is Language, in my Opinion, as unparliamentary, and treating Gentlemen with as little Candour, as what he has blamed others for.

'I muſt ſay, Sir, that it ſeems to be a very difficult Matter, to know how to pleaſe thoſe great Men in the Adminiſtration; for I find that when any Encomiums are made upon them, when any Thing is ſaid in Praiſe of their Meaſures, they immediately take it to be meant by way of Irony; and if any Gentleman happens to give them any Names which may ſeem to be a little harſh, thoſe they underſtand exactly as they are ſpoke, and complain that Gentlemen do not treat them in a parliamentary Way: But, Sir, whatever other Gentlemen may do, I am none of thoſe who have beſtowed Panegyricks either upon the preſent or upon any Adminiſtration, and I hope I never was, or ever ſhall be guilty of calling Names. Perhaps the honourable Gentleman may diſlike thoſe Names, which he pretends have been given to him in this Houſe; whether it be parliamentary Language or not I ſhall not determine, but I muſt tell him, that it is very ſoft and pleaſant Language when compared with that of the People of England: Were he to hear them ſpeak, he would hear them ſpeak in a Stile very different from that uſed at Court, or even in this Houſe; and I believe it would be for his Advantage, to give a little more Attention to the plain Language of thoſe he looks on to be none of his Friends, than to the ſoothing Flatteries of his Creatures and Paraſites about him.

'Sir, Gentlemen may make themſelves merry, but what I have ſaid may perhaps, when it is too late, be found to be true; and whatever the honourable Gentleman and his Friends may pretend to think of the preſent Motion, I muſt

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muſt be of Opinion, that it is not only reaſonable, but that it is a natural Conſequence of what was immediately before moved and agreed to; and therefore I hope this Houſe will act ſo conſiſtently with itſelf, as to agree to the preſent Motion likewiſe. What Information we may get from the Papers moved for, with regard to the Treaty of Vienna, the Gentleman who has ſeen them can beſt tell; but as that Treaty was the immediate Conſequence of the Negotiations relating to the Execution of the Treaty of Seville, I muſt think that the Journal of thoſe Negotiations will afford us ſome Light, with regard to that Treaty which immediately followed; and therefore I hope the Gentleman will excuſe me for not taking it upon his Word, that the Papers called for can have no Manner of Connection with the Treaty, which we ſeem now reſolved to take into Conſideration.'

Mr Pulteney ſpoke next:

Sir,

Mr Pulteney.

'I ſtand up now, as I have been obliged to do upon many other Occaſions, to aſſert the Rights and the Privileges of this Houſe; we have not only a Right to call for what Papers we think neceſſary for our Information, but we have a Right to have the Papers ſo called for, laid before us. The honourable Gentleman on the Floor ſeems highly offended at an Expreſſion, which drop'd from my honourable Friend by me. I will agree with him, that this Houſe may or may not agree with the preſent, or with any other Motion, that ſhall hereafter be made by any Gentleman in this Houſe: This is a Privilege, which I hope ſhall always be preſerved, not only in Show, but in Reality; I hope no Gentleman ſhall ever attain to ſuch a Power, as to have a Majority in this Houſe always ready to approve what he pleaſes to propoſe; and I will likewiſe agree with him in this, that when any Motion is rejected by a Majority, it then becomes an Act of the Houſe, in which every Gentleman muſt acquieſce; but I hope he will agree with me, that 'till the Queſtion is put upon any Motion, and the Opinion of the Houſe taken upon it, it does not become an Act of the Houſe: Now, as no Queſtion has yet been put upon the preſent Motion, and as it has yet been oppoſed only by thoſe who are immediately concerned in the Adminiſtration, I think it may properly be ſaid, that what has been aſked has been refuſed by Power, or at leaſt by thoſe in Power.

'The Gentlemen, who oppoſed this Motion, are forc'd to acknowledge, that this Houſe has a Power of calling for what Papers we pleaſe; but then, ſay they, you ought not to call for the Papers relating to any foreign Negotiation, becauſe all ſuch Papers muſt contain Secrets which ought not to be publiſhed

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liſhed to the World. Is not this ſaying and unſaying in the ſame Breath? You may call for what Papers you pleaſe; but you muſt not call for the Papers relating to any foreign Negotiation, becauſe the Addreſſing for thoſe appears, at firſt Sight, to be ſuch an Addreſs as his Majeſty cannot comply with. Sir, I ſay, that when this Houſe finds it neceſſary, they may call for all the Papers relating to any Negotiation whatever, and may inſiſt upon having all of them laid before the Houſe. Do not we know, that upon ſuch Occaſions we name a ſecret and ſelect Committee to inſpect ſuch Papers, and to report what they find in them relating to the Affair under our Conſideration; and I hope we ſhall always have in this Houſe ten or a dozen Gentlemen, as capable to diſtinguiſh what ought to be kept ſecret, and as capable to keep thoſe Secrets, as any Secretary or other Miniſter of State, that is or ever ſhall be in this Nation.

'I am really ſurpriſed to hear Gentlemen pretend, that there is no Connection between the Negotiations for carrying the Treaty of Seville into Execution, and the Treaty of Vienna; when by that very Treaty of Vienna the Treaty of Seville was actually carry'd into Execution. It is plain to the whole World, that the Treaty of Vienna was the laſt Negotiation ſet on Foot for carrying the Treaty of Seville into Execution; and in order to judge of this laſt Negotiation, we only deſire to ſee the Papers relating to the preceding Negotiations, which were carry'd on for the ſame Purpoſe. It may, for what I know, be true, that by the Treaty of Vienna we enter'd into no Engagements, but ſuch as we were obliged to by the Nature of Things, and the Circumſtances of the Affairs of Europe; but it muſt ſurely be granted, that an expreſs Stipulation is more binding than a natural Obligation; and that no prudent Man will confirm a natural Obligation by an expreſs Stipulation, unleſs he has ſome very good Conſideration for ſo doing: If we had enter'd into no expreſs Engagements, we ſhould have left our Poſterity in the ſame Caſe we were in ourſelves; they might then have judg'd as well as we, by the Nature of Things and the Circumſtances of the Affairs of Europe, as they ſhould then have appear'd to them; but now they are pinned down, they muſt judge only by the Terms of the Treaty which we have made for them; and though the Nature of Things and the Circumſtances of Europe, ſhould be entirely alter'd, it will, without Doubt, be inſiſted on, that they ought to perform thoſe Engagements we have ſubjected them to.

'The honourable Gentleman ſaid, that if the Nation was in an unhappy Situation, and if that Situation was owing to any Miſmanagement at Home, it ought to be inquired into; and

and that, on the Foot of ſuch an Inquiry, he was ready to join Iſſue with any Gentleman in this Houſe. On that Foot, Sir, I am ready to join Iſſue with him: To me there is nothing appears more certain, than that we are in a moſt lamentable and calamitous Situation; and even from the Lights I have already I am convinced, beyond all Doubt, that our preſent Situation is owing to the Miſmanagement of thoſe at home: It may, I believe, be proved, to the Satisfaction of every unbiaſſed Perſon; but I muſt ſay, that if the honourable Gentleman's Opinion prevails in the preſent Debate, he is taking a very effectual Method to prevent its being in the Power of any Gentleman to bring Proofs of what I have now aſſerted. While he is poſſeſſed of all or moſt of the Materials neceſſary for ſuch a Proof, it is an eaſy Matter firſt to deny Gentlemen any Acceſs to them, and then to throw out a Defiance; but this will not, I hope, be in his Power; I hope this Houſe will, in the preſent Queſtion, join with me in Opinion, that it is abſolutely neceſſary for us to have the Papers now call'd for, laid before us. Anno 7. Geo. II. 1733-34.

'I would gladly know, how it is poſſible for the Parliament to give the Nation any Relief in its preſent melancholy Circumſtances, if we deny Acceſs to thoſe Particulars from which only we can know what our preſent Situation is. If the Queſtion ſhould come before us, Whether or no we ought to take any Part in the preſent War? Can we paſs any Judgment upon ſuch a Queſtion, without firſt knowing how we ſtand engaged to the ſeveral Powers abroad? And can we know any Thing of this, without firſt examining the many Treaties and Negotiations which have been carry'd on of late Years? If we are to take no Part in the War, we muſt provide for the Safety of the Nation: How can we do this properly, and as it ought to be done? How can we judge of the Eſtimates that are to be laid before us for that End, without knowing what Danger the Nation is in? And how can we know our Danger, without knowing how we ſtand with reſpect to our foreign Alliances and Engagements? For theſe Ends, Sir, we muſt have not only the Papers now moved for, but, in my Opinion, a great many others will be neceſſary, in order to give us thoſe Lights which we ought certainly to have.

'As I have ſaid before, Sir, even as Things now appear to me, all that has happen'd is the Work of our own Hands; the Weakneſs of thoſe whom many already look upon as our Friends, and the Strength of our Enemies, is all of our own doing; Gentlemen were told of it at the Time when thoſe Tranſactions were carrying on, but they were too wiſe to liſten to Advice. When the whole Chain

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and Series of our Management for ſeveral Years paſt, comes to be impartially look'd into, what I now ſay will be found to be true: Certain Cauſes will be found producing certain Effects; theſe Effects afterwards becoming Cauſes, and producing other Effects, 'till at laſt we have arrived at the miſerable State we are now in; but theſe are Matters, which I hope will ſoon come to be more fully open'd, and clearly ſtated to this Houſe.

The honourable Gentleman ſaid, 'That Motions were often 'made with no other View, but to have Negatives put upon 'them;' if that be the Caſe as to the preſent Motion, the Gentleman and his Friends may eaſily diſappoint us of the Negative we are ſuppoſed to expect; and I wiſh with all my Heart, that the Gentleman would give himſelf the Pleaſure of diſappointing me and ſome other Gentlemen, the obliging of whom did never, I am perſuaded, yield him any great Delight.'

Mr Danvers.

Mr Danvers ſtood up next, and ſpoke as follows:

Sir,

'I am entirely againſt your Queſtion; I think it is a moſt unreaſonable Propoſition; and that it would be altogether as right and as dutiful in us to addreſs his Majeſty to bring his Cabinet, with all the Papers in it, and lay it upon the Table, or upon the Floor of this Houſe, to be peruſed by the Members. An honourable Gentleman, who ſpoke laſt but one, talked of the Language of the People of England, and ſeemed to inſinuate, as if they abuſed and railed at the Miniſtry. As to that, I have been, ſince laſt Seſſion, in ſeveral Counties of England, and have converſed with People of different Parties, and I never heard any Man reproach the Miniſtry; on the contrary, they ſeemed all to think, that the only Diſpute among us here was who ſhould be Miniſter; and as this is a Diſpute which the Generality of the People of England are no way concerned in, Gentlemen are much miſtaken, if they imagine that the People of England trouble their Heads about it.'

The Queſtion was then put upon Sir John Ruſhout's Motion, and carry'd in the Negative, by 195 to 104.

Mr Sandys's Motion for the Inſtructions given to the Britiſh Miniſter in Poland, to be laid before the Houſe.

Jan. 25. Mr Sandys mov'd, that the Inſtructions given to the Britiſh Miniſter in Poland, *Anno* 1729, might be laid before the Houſe: He introduced the ſaid Motion as follows:

Sir,

'We have been told, not only upon the Occaſion of our Addreſs, in Anſwer to his Majeſty's Speech from the Throne; but have likewiſe heard from Gentlemen in a late Debate, that the principal Cauſes of the War now carrying on in Europe, proceeded from thoſe Obſtructions which were thrown in their Way, at the late Election of a

King

King of Poland: I ſhall therefore beg Leave to move, That an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to give Direction, that the ſeveral Inſtructions to Mr Woodward, his Majeſty's Miniſter in Poland, in the Year 1729, be laid before the Houſe. Anno 7. Geo. II. 1733-34.

'It is very well known, Sir, that the late King of Poland was at that Time in a bad State of Health, ſo bad, that even his Life was deſpair'd of, and therefore we need not doubt, but that there were ſome Meaſures then laid down for regulating, or at leaſt influencing the Election of a new King: As we had a Miniſter there at that Time, it is as little to be doubted, but that we were at leaſt conſulted, perhaps, by all Parties concern'd; we had a Right to intermeddle, becauſe there are, I believe, ſome Treaties ſubſiſting between us and the Republick of Poland; and we were certainly intereſted in that great Event, becauſe of the extenſive Trade carry'd on by our Subjects in that fruitful Kingdom: 'Tis true, the then King of Poland happen'd to live for a few Years after; but it is probable, that the Meaſures then agreed on, were much the ſame with thoſe which have been ſince purſu'd; or at leaſt, that the Meaſures then concerted, very much influenced ſome of thoſe Meaſures which have been ſince carry'd into Execution: For this Reaſon, I ſhould be glad to ſee, and I think it is abſolutely neceſſary for this Houſe to ſee the Inſtructions, at leaſt, that were ſent to our Miniſters at that Time, before we can determine any Thing as to the State in which we ſtand at preſent, with reſpect to the War now unhappily begun in Europe; and therefore I have taken the Liberty to make you this Motion, which I hope the Houſe will agree to.'

This Motion being ſeconded by Mr Chetwynd, a Debate enſued, in which Mr Henry Pelham ſpoke to this Effect: Mr Chetwynd.

Sir,

'The Motion now made by the worthy Gentleman, can, in my Opinion, bear but a very ſhort Debate. For my own Part, I really think it a moſt improper Motion, nor can I apprehend what the Gentleman means by going ſo far back as the Year 1729. I do not, indeed, remember any Thing of the King of Poland's bad State of Health at that Time; but let that be as it will, it is certain that if he was then indiſpoſed, he recovered of that Indiſpoſition, and lived a long Time after in a State of perfect Health; and even when he did die, I believe it will be granted, that but a few Days before his Death happened, he was in as good a State of Health, and likely to live as moſt Men of his Age in Europe. Mr H. Pelham.

Anno 7. Geo. II. 1733-34.

'I wiſh, Sir, as has been wiſhed in a former Debate, that Gentlemen would be ſo candid as to declare what they really intend by ſuch Motions as they have made of late: If they would once fairly tell what they mean, we might form ſome Judgment, whether what they aſked for was neceſſary for attaining the Ends they propoſe; and in that Caſe, if any Thing neceſſary or reaſonable ſhould be refuſed them, they would then have ſome juſt Ground of Complaint; but thus to move, Day after Day, for all Letters, all Inſtructions, ſent to his Majeſty's Miniſters at the ſeveral Courts of Europe in general, is a Method of Proceeding altogether new in this Houſe; and if theſe Motions were comply'd with, I can ſee nothing they could poſſibly tend to, but to the increaſing of thoſe Troubles and Commotions which are already begun in Europe: This would, as I take it, be one of the certain Conſequences of the Motion now made to us; and therefore, as a Perſon no way concerned in the Adminiſtration, but as a Member of this Houſe, I ſhall heartily give my Negative to the Queſtion.'

Mr H. Walpole.

Mr Horatio Walpole ſpoke next.

Sir,

'After what has been ſaid by my honourable Friend, it may, perhaps, be thought that I give both this Houſe and myſelf unneceſſary Trouble, in urging any thing farther againſt the Queſtion now before us. If we ſhould agree to this Motion, it would, in my Opinion, ſhew a very great Diſreſpect to his Majeſty; for as his Majeſty has from the Throne aſſured us, that he had no Share in thoſe Meaſures which have occaſioned the preſent War, other than by his good Offices; and as this Motion, if it means any thing, means to inſinuate that his Maieſty has had a Share in the late Tranſactions relating to the Election of a King of Poland, our agreeing to it would plainly be to tell his Majeſty, that we ſuſpect he has had a very great Share in thoſe Meaſures which gave occaſion to the preſent War; and therefore, Sir, I muſt ſay, that I have a better Opinion of this Houſe, than to believe that they will ever agree to a Motion ſo inconſiſtent with that Duty and Reſpect, which we have expreſſed in our Addreſs of Thanks to his Majeſty.

'There are ſome Gentlemen, who ſeem to have laid it down as a Principle, that every thing that's wrong, happen in what Corner of Europe it will, muſt be owing to the Miſmanagement of the Miniſters of Great Britain; and thoſe Gentlemen do all they can to perſuade other People to think in the ſame manner; but to imagine, that if any wrong Steps have been made by any Power in Europe, with regard to the Election of a King of Poland, they muſt be owing to the Miſconduct of our Miniſters; to think that any Inſtructions

given

given to our Miniſter in Poland in the Year 1729, can have the leaſt Relation to what has lately happen'd, either in that or any other Kingdom in Europe, has really ſomething ſo ridiculous in it, that I can hardly believe the Gentleman was in earneſt when he made the Motion. From ſuch Motions it may be expected, that in a few Days ſome Gentlemen will riſe up and move for the Inſtructions ſent to the Lord Kinnoul at Conſtantinople, in order to prove the Victory of the Perſians owing to them. Anno 7. Geo. II. 1733-34.

The ſame Gentlemen have of late pretended to be very artful and dexterous, not only in diſcovering the hidden Cauſes of Things paſt, but in propheſying and foretelling future Events. When ought comes to paſs of Moment, they cry, O! this we told you long ago; and thus they pretend to have foretold every great Event that has lately happen'd in Europe; but I would gladly aſk them, Where or when any of them have propheſy'd, what Potentate, or in what Manner any Potentate, would interfere in the Election of a King of Poland? Have any of them propheſy'd that the King of Sardinia would grant a Paſſage to the French Troops through his Territories to Italy; or did they propheſy, that he would join with France in declaring War againſt the Emperor? Have any of them propheſy'd, that the two ſtrong Forts of Milan and Pizzighitone, that might have been reaſonably ſuppoſed to have held out a Siege of five or ſix Months, ſhould have been taken in a few Weeks? In ſhort, Sir, they have pretended to foretel every Thing, and have really foretold nothing; I've lately ſeen a Pamphlet to this Purpoſe; but being a Digreſſion from the Queſtion, I ſhall ſay no more about it. As to the Motion itſelf, it appears to me in ſuch an odd Light, that I dare ſay, the Gentleman who made it, when he conſiders better of it, will rather withdraw it, than have it ſtand in the Votes of this Houſe; if he does not, I ſhall certainly give my Negative to it.'

Sir Charles Wager ſpoke next againſt the Motion as follows: Sir Charles Wager.

Sir,

'The honourable Gentleman, who ſpoke laſt, having mentioned Pamphlets, brings to my Mind that I have lately ſeen one, [Intitled, *Obſervations on the Conduct of Great Britain, with regard to the Negotiations and other Tranſactions abroad.* 1729] which I believe I ſhould not have read, had I not been told that my Name was mentioned in it. 'Tis true, that, about the Times mentioned in that Pamphlet, we were obliged to fit out ſome Squadrons of Men of War; and tho' I thought myſelf then old enough to be laid aſide, yet I had the Honour to be appointed by his Majeſty Commander of ſome of them: With one of theſe Squadrons I ſailed to

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Anno 7. Geo. II. 1733-34.

the Baltick, for the Relief of Sweden, which was then in a very dangerous Situation, the Muſcovites having then a large Squadron at Sea, with which they were plundering and ravaging their Coaſts, at the ſame Time that they were attacking them with a numerous Army by Land. The very News of our fitting out ſuch a Squadron for the Baltick had ſo good an Effect, that before I arrived at Stockholm, the Muſcovites had agreed to conclude a Peace with Sweden, upon reaſonable Terms; ſo that when I came to Stockholm, I was told by the Court, that they had no farther Occaſion for our Fleet; but the Fright the poor People were in, where I touch'd, and their Joy on the ſeeing our Fleet, was a plain Demonſtration of the Danger they thought themſelves in. I went afterwards to the Coaſt of Spain, [*In Dec.* 1726] with another Squadron, where I cruiz'd, and look'd out with all poſſible Care for the Spaniſh Flotilla, then expected home; they, indeed, had the good Fortune to eſcape me; but if the Gentleman who wrote that Pamphlet, knew the Place I was obliged to cruize in, and the only Place I could poſſibly cruize in, for the intercepting of the Flotilla; and if he knew the great Seas that roll there in the Winter-Time, he would not have had Occaſion for long Nights, or foggy Weather, as a Reaſon for my having miſſed meeting with the Flotilla; he would have known, that at that Time of the Year they might have paſſed even within my View, without its being in my Power either to come up with them, or to fire a Gun at them: But Gentlemen often cenſure other People's Actions, becauſe they know nothing of the Matter about what they take upon them to criticiſe. I have ſerved as an Officer in the Navy ever ſince the Revolution, and, I hope, I have hitherto ſerved without the leaſt Reproach: I am ſure I have always endeavour'd to ſerve my Country to the utmoſt of my Power; and therefore, I hope, Gentlemen will take Care not to throw any Reflections upon my Conduct: But ſome People ſeem to think, that, with our Squadrons, we may do what ever we pleaſe, and that if a Squadron is fitted out we muſt fight, whether there be any Occaſion for it or no; I believe they think, that with the laſt Squadron we had at Spithead, we ought to have fought the Dutch, who came and join'd us, rather than not to have fought at all; but ſurely this, as it is a very monſtrous, cannot be a good Opinion: We may, perhaps, this Year fit out a Squadron, and poſſibly they too may go no farther than Spithead, they certainly will not, unleſs there be a Neceſſity for proceeding farther; but when all our Neighbours are fitting out Squadrons, and making great military Preparations, it would ſurely be very imprudent

prudent in us, not to put ourſelves, at leaſt, in a Poſture of Defence,'

Anno 7. Geo. II. 1733-34.

Then Mr William Pulteney ſpoke in Behalf of Mr Sandys's Motion:

Mr W. Pulteney.

Sir,

'I am very apt to believe, my honourable Friend over the Way, who made you this Motion, was very ſerious, as he always is in every Motion he makes in this Houſe. The Reaſon he gave for his Motion was a very ſtrong one, ſo ſtrong, that it has not as yet met with any Anſwer; for if it ſhould appear, that we, at the Time he mentions, concerted Meaſures in Conjunction with other Powers, for regulating or influencing the next Election of a King of Poland; and that the Plan then laid down has been ſince purſu'd, theſe Inſtructions will certainly inform us, and from thence we may know a little more of our preſent Situation than we do at preſent: But I find, if the Opinion of ſome Gentlemen prevail, we are to have no Information at all; and in that Caſe, how we can anſwer his Majeſty's Expectations, who deſires our Advice and Aſſiſtance, I leave to every Gentleman to judge.

'The honourable Gentleman, who ſpoke laſt but one, talk'd of Prophecies, and aſk'd what thoſe Prophets had propheſy'd: Had they, ſaid he, prophefied this? or had they propheſy'd that? What Prophets or Prophecies he means I do not know; but I may ſay, that without any great Spirit of Prophecy, the Moment you ſeparated the Courts of Vienna and Spain, every Thing that has ſince happened might have been eaſily foretold. The Gentleman likewiſe talk'd of Pamphlets: I have likewiſe ſeen a Pamphlet, lately publiſh'd, and whether from the Stile it is wrote in, or the Perplexity in the Way of Thinking which is diſcover'd in every Part of it, I think I can be almoſt certain as to the Author of it. [*Here he gave a Deſcription of the Perſon he ſuppoſed to be the Author of it.*] The whole of this fine Performance reſults in this, That the Nation is in a very bad Situation; ſomething muſt be done, but what is to be done the Author does not know: If we do one Thing, we are ſtill in the ſame Situation we were before, perhaps worſe; if we do another Thing, our Caſe will ſtill be the ſame: In ſhort, he at laſt leaves us in the ſame wretched Condition he found us; upon which, Sir, I muſt ſuppoſe this Caſe: Suppoſe a Phyſician to have a Patient for ſome Time under his Hands; the Patient lingers and decays, and at laſt finds himſelf in ſo low and weak a Condition, that he begins to deſpair; the Phyſician is ſent for; the Patient complains, and aſks what's to be done; the Doctor anſwers gravely, Sir, you are indeed in a very bad State;

Anno 7. Geo. II. 1733-34.

State: There are but two or three Ways of treating your Diſtemper, and I am afraid neither of them will do; a Vomit may throw you into Convulſions, and kill you at once; a Purge may give you a Diarrhea, which would certainly carry you off in a ſhort Time; and to bleed you, Sir, I have already bled you ſo much, and ſo often, that you can bear it no longer: In ſuch a Situation, would not the Patient probably exclaim againſt his Doctor, and ſay, Sir, you have always pretended to be a regular Phyſician, but I have found you an arrant Quack; I had an excellent Conſtitution when I firſt came into your Hands, but you have quite deſtroyed it; and now I find I have no other Chance for ſaving my Life, but by calling for the Help of ſome regular Phyſician.

'But, Sir, to be altogether ſerious, for the Subject is really of a very ſerious Nature: if Gentlemen have a Mind to do ſomething for the Safety of the Nation in our preſent melancholy Circumſtances, and ſeriouſly to aſk the Advice and Aſſiſtance of Parliament, thoſe Things that are neceſſary for our Information muſt not be deny'd: Their being refus'd by a Majority, which ſeems to be almoſt the only Argument urged by Gentlemen who oppoſe theſe Motions, will not have any Weight with the Nation; Gentlemen, 'tis true, muſt acquieſce in what is done by the Majority, but it will not have all that Force without Doors, as ſome may imagine. I know, Sir, it is not allowable to ſay any Thing againſt what is done by a Majority of this Houſe; but there are certain Methods of Speaking, which are not againſt Order, and which might, notwithſtanding, make Gentlemen feel, that an Anſwer could be given, even to that unanſwerable Argument, of its having been done by a Majority.

'I have known, in former Parliaments, moſt ſcandalous Things done by a corrupt Majority; any Thing's being done or reſolved on by a Majority, even of this Houſe, will not make it right, nor convince the Nation that it is ſo: We know what Opinion the whole Nation had of that wicked Scheme, which was before us laſt Seſſion; we know what Abhorrence they ſtill have of it, and of many of thoſe who voted for it; and yet that Scheme, to uſe an honourable Perſon's own Words, was attended with a Majority in every Diviſion; but this is foreign to the Queſtion, I only mention it to ſhew how unfairly that Argument of a Majority is urged by thoſe of the other Side.

'In a late Debate, Sir, Gentlemen found fault with the Queſtion then moved, becauſe of its being too general. They deſir'd that we would be a little more particular, and lay our Finger upon ſome Paper or Papers relating to ſome

particular

particular Tranſaction, which might give us the Information we deſir'd, with reſpect to our preſent Situation: The Election of a King of Poland, and the Meaſures that have been taken by certain Powers, for influencing, or rather for directing that Election, has been owned upon all Hands to have been what has given Riſe to the preſent Troubles in Europe; and now when the particular Inſtructions, relating to that particular Affair, which were ſent to our Miniſter at that Court, only for one Year, and that too, ſeveral Years ago, are moved for, ſtill we are told by the ſame Gentlemen, 'You are not particular enough, your Demands are 'unreaſonable; aſk but what is reaſonable, and we will give 'it you, provided the Majority agree to it:' At this Rate it is impoſſible for Gentlemen, who are intirely ignorant of our late foreign Tranſactions, to aſk for any Thing; for it is not to be preſum'd, that any Man can aſk for any particular Paper, from which this Houſe could get a proper Information, even as to any particular Tranſaction, unleſs he knew very exactly the whole Series of that Tranſaction, and all the other Tranſactions relating to it. Anno 7. Geo. II. 1733-34.

'The honourable Gentleman by me, has been pleaſed to declare his Willingneſs to enter into the moſt ſtrict Inquiry; and for that Purpoſe has promis'd a great deal of Condeſcenſion, as to the laying before the Houſe whatever Papers might be thought neceſſary for their Information; but what has all this come to? Why, he and the Majority have condeſcended to give us a Treaty, which has long ago been in Print, and publiſh'd in, I believe, moſt of the Countries of Europe. I muſt ſay, Sir, that ſuch Treatment is intolerable; I do not know what Name to give it; but I ſhall avoid giving Names: I would not willingly fling the firſt Stone; but if any Stone be flung at me, I ſhall always be ready to fling it back again.'

Mr Horatio Walpole ſpoke next, Mr H. Walpole.

Sir,

'The honourable Gentlemen who ſpoke laſt, ended his Speech with ſaying, that he would not willingly fling the firſt Stone; but it ſeems he had then forgot what he had ſaid but a very little before; by which, if he did not fling a Stone, he at leaſt, in my Opinion, threw a very great Peeble at the whole Houſe: After having told us, that it was not allowable to ſay any Thing againſt what was done by the Majority of this Houſe, he ſaid, 'That there were, 'notwithſtanding, ſome Methods of Speaking, which were 'not againſt Order, and by which Gentlemen might be made 'to feel, that an Anſwer might be given to what the Majority had thought unanſwerable;' Then he talk'd of ſcandalous Things having been done in former Parliaments by a

Anno 7. Geo. II. 1733-34.

corrupt Majority: Now, Sir, I would be glad to know how this Houſe can feel any Thing that is ſaid of former Parliaments, unleſs it be meant, that the preſent Parliament is of the ſame Nature with the former Parliaments talk'd of: This, Sir, as I have ſaid, ſeems to be a very great Peeble thrown at the whole Houſe; beſides the Dirt he had before flung at the ſuppoſed Author of a Pamphlet lately publiſhed, whom he took care to deſcribe ſo particularly, that, I believe, every Gentleman thinks the Author, or at leaſt the ſuppoſed Author of that Pamphlet, is now ſpeaking to you; but I can freely declare, that I am not the Author of it; I have, indeed, read it; and I believe the greateſt Quarrel that Gentleman and his Friends have with it, is, that they do not know how to anſwer it.

'The honourable Gentleman likewiſe mentioned the Caſe of a Patient and his Phyſician; but I leave the World to judge, who moſt deſerve the Appellation of Quacks, they who have the proper Degrees, and practiſe in a regular Manner; or that Gentleman's Friends, who have been for ſome Years paſt diſperſing their Quack Bills round the Country, exclaiming againſt all thoſe in the regular Practice, and endeavouring to perſuade People in good Health that they are in a dangerous Condition; and that if they do not immediately diſcharge all their regular Phyſicians, and ſwallow their Quack Powders, they muſt inevitably periſh.

But, Sir, to be ſerious, as the Gentleman ſaid, upon this Subject, though I cannot think that the Subject now before us is ſo ſerious as he would repreſent, if thoſe Gentlemen would fairly and openly enter into the Conſideration of the State of the Nation, I will defy that Gentleman, or any other Gentlemen to ſhew, that thoſe in the Adminiſtration have acted any Part, or entered into any Meaſures, but what were, at the Time they were tranſacted, the moſt conſiſtent with the Intereſt of Great Britain of any that could then be thought of, or entered into. Gentlemen may give to the preſent Adminiſtration the Name of a ſhifting Adminiſtration; Gentlemen may ſay that they have wheeled about from Court to Court; but upon Inquiry, it will appear, that they have never ſhifted or wheeled, but when the Intereſt of their Country required it; and that if there has been any ſhifting or wheeling, it was always owing to a Change of the Meaſures at other Courts: As long as any Power in Friendſhip or Alliance with us, continued to act agreeably to the Intereſt of Great Britain, ſo long we continued firm to them; but when any of them began to enter into Meaſures which were directly oppoſite to our Intereſt, we then likewiſe changed our Meaſures, and had Recourſe to other Powers, who, from that Moment, became our more

natural

natural Allies: This, Sir, has been the Method always observed by thoſe in the Adminiſtration; but I know who they are who have ſhifted and wheeled with quite another View than that of the Intereſt of Great Britain; when we were in Friendſhip with France, they were caballing with the Miniſters and Agents of the Emperor; when the Face of Affairs changed, and our Friendſhip with the Emperor was reſtored, they then caballed with the Miniſters and Agents of France; and thus they have been always in the greateſt Friendſhip with thoſe who have been moſt at Enmity with their native Country. Anno 7. Geo. II. 1733-34.

'In ſhort, Sir, I find, that thoſe Gentlemen who call themſelves Patriots, have laid this down as a fix'd Principle, that they muſt always oppoſe thoſe Meaſures which are reſolved on by the King's Miniſters, and conſequently muſt always endeavour to ſhew that thoſe Meaſures are wrong; and this, Sir, I take to be the only Reaſon why they have been as yet ſo ſilent as to a certain Subject, in which the Intereſt of their Country is very much concerned: Their Language at preſent is, as I ſuppoſe, 'Do not let us declare 'our Opinion; let us wait 'till we know what Part the Mi-'niſtry takes, and then let us endeavour to ſhew that they 'ought to have acted quite otherwiſe:' If I may be allowed to uſe a low Simile, they treat the Miniſtry in the ſame Way as I am treated by ſome Gentlemen of my Acquaintance, with reſpect to my Dreſs; if I am in plain Cloaths, then they ſay, I am a ſlovenly, dirty Fellow; and if by Chance I have a Suit of Cloaths with ſome Lace upon them, they cry, what, ſhall ſuch an aukward Fellow wear fine Cloaths? So that no Dreſs I can appear in can poſſibly pleaſe them. But to conclude, Sir, the Caſe of the Nation under the preſent Adminiſtration has been the ſame with what it always has been, and always muſt be; for to uſe another Simile, which my worthy Friend over the Way, whom I have in my Eye, will underſtand: As long as the Wind was fair, and proper for carrying us to our deſigned Port, the Word was *Steady* —— *Steady*; but when the Wind began to ſhift and change, the Word came then neceſſarily to be, *Thus* —— *Thus*, and *no near*.'

Sir William Wyndham ſtood up next: Hereupon the Speaker roſe up, and ſaid, that Gentlemen had departed ſo much from the Point in Debate, that he would beg Leave to read the Queſtion again. This done, Sir William Wyndham proceeded as follows. Sir W. Wyndham.

Sir,

'I ſhall take Care in what I have to offer, to confine myſelf as ſtrictly to the Queſtion as poſſible, though I muſt ſay, that thoſe Gentlemen who have ſpoke againſt it, have

Anno 7. Geo. II. 1733-34.

made ſuch long Digreſſions, and have traverſed ſo many Parts of Europe, that it is a difficult Matter to ſay any Thing in Anſwer to what they have been pleaſed to advance, and at the ſame Time to keep cloſe to the Queſtion. As to the Digreſſions which the Gentlemen have run into, I ſhall not give the Houſe much Trouble about them; and as to Arguments, the only two that I have heard made uſe of, or ſo much as hinted at, againſt the Queſtion, are, that the agreeing to the Motion now made to us would be ſhewing a Diſreſpect to his Majeſty; and, that if it ſhould be agreed to, it could be of no Service, as to the giving us any Information about our preſent Circumſtances.

'It is ſaid, Sir, that the agreeing to this Motion would be ſhewing a Diſreſpect to his Majeſty, becauſe it would be ſhewing a Sort of Suſpicion, that his Majeſty has had a Share in thoſe Tranſactions which have given Occaſion to the preſent War; though he has, in his Speech from the Throne, declared, that he has had no Share in them. The Anſwer to this Objection is plain; we all know, it has always been allowed in this Houſe, that Speeches from the Throne are the Speeches of the Miniſter, and upon that Suppoſition it has always been thought, that neither this Houſe, nor any Member of this Houſe is guilty of any Diſreſpect to his Majeſty, in examining and canvaſſing with all poſſible Freedom every Sentence of the Speech from the Throne; even the Facts there aſſerted may be deny'd, and if upon Examination it ſhould be found, that they are falſe, the Miniſter ought and certainly would anſwer ſeverely for it. This is the very Caſe now before us: It is allowed on all Hands, that the Election of a King of Poland is the principal Cauſe of the War now broke out in Europe; and to tell us, that his Majeſty has ſaid, that he has had no Share in that Tranſaction, and that therefore we muſt not inquire into it, is a direct begging of the Queſtion: The Miniſters are the only Perſons we can ſuppoſe to have ſaid ſo, and there are other Gentlemen who affirm, or, at leaſt, ſuſpect the contrary: This is a Fact then that is controverted; this is the Fact which the Houſe is to inquire into; and when a Motion is made for having thoſe Papers laid before us, which are neceſſary for giving us ſome Lights into this Affair, ſhall Gentlemen be told, that ſuch a Motion is improper, becauſe it is inconſiſtent with that Reſpect which we have profeſſed for his Majeſty, in our Addreſs of Thanks? If this Houſe can be perſuaded to accept of ſuch an Excuſe, if a Majority of this Houſe can be prevailed on to join in ſuch a Method of Proceeding, thoſe Gentlemen who can ſo prevail upon them, may throw out as many Defiances as they pleaſe: They are the ſole Maſters of all the

the Proofs that are neceſſary for, or can be made uſe of upon any Inquiry; and they are, it ſeems, reſolved to continue ſo.

'Whether this Houſe, Sir, can have any proper Information from the Inſtructions now called for, as to the Fact in Diſpute at preſent, is what I ſhall not take upon me to determine; nor can it be, in my Opinion, determined by any Gentleman in this Houſe; but to me it ſeems very probable, that we may from theſe Inſtructions receive ſome Lights, which may enable us to determine how this Nation ſtands engaged, with reſpect to the War now carrying on in Europe, ſince the principal Reaſon of that War is allowed to be founded upon the late Election of a King of Poland. Gentlemen may, if they pleaſe, pretend Ignorance, but it is very certain, that the late King of Poland was in the Year 1729 in a very bad Condition, with reſpect to his Health, and therefore it ſeems certain, that ſome Meaſures muſt have been concerted, relating to the then future Election of a King of Poland; whether we had any, and what Share in thoſe Meaſures, is what this Houſe now wants to inquire into, and to me it ſeems as evident as any Demonſtration whatever, that the ſeeing of thoſe Inſtructions is abſolutely neceſſary for this End. 'Tis true, the King of Poland did recover a little, and did live for a few Years after, but he never was after that in a State of perfect Health, and, conſequently, it is moſt reaſonable to believe, that the Meaſures then concerted were the ſame with, or, at leaſt, did very much influence the Meaſures actually purſued upon the Demiſe of that King: If we had no Share in the Tranſactions at that Time carried on in Poland, ſurely no Secret can be diſcovered by the laying of thoſe Inſtructions before this Houſe; and if we had any Share in thoſe Tranſactions, it cannot be ſaid, I think, that we have no manner of Share in thoſe Tranſactions which have occaſioned the preſent War in Europe.

'What Share we had in thoſe Tranſactions, 'till I ſee thoſe Inſtructions, it is impoſſible for me to ſay; but from the Lights I already have, it appears evident to me, that we have had a very large Share in all the other Negotiations, which have been lately carried on in Europe. Did not we procure the Introduction of the firſt Spaniſh Forces into Italy? Are not we Guarantees for all Don Carlos's Rights and Poſſeſſions in Italy? Are not we Guarantees for all the Emperor's Rights and Poſſeſſions in Italy? Are not we Guarantees even for the Pragmatick Sanction in its full Extent? I believe we are under Engagements to every one of the Northern Powers; and I have heard, that we are under ſome Engagements to the Court of France; ſo that

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let a War have broke out between any two Powers in Europe, it will be difficult to ſhew, that we had no Hand in the Tranſactions which gave Occaſion to that War; upon the contrary, I believe it will appear, that each of them might have juſtly made Demands upon us; and this, Sir, is our preſent unhappy Situation: If this ſhews great Wiſdom, or regular Practice, as the Gentleman was pleaſed to call it, in thoſe at the Helm of our Affairs, I leave to the World to judge: We have been running all over Europe, and entering into Engagements with every Prince and State in Europe, and all this without any national Benefit in View, but generally to the great Detriment of our Domeſtick Affairs, and often to the great Interruption of our Trade in all Parts of the World; and how probable it may be, that the ſame Wiſdom, which has brought us into this Situation, will be able to extricate us out of it, is a Queſtion which may be eaſily reſolved.

'We were told, Sir, the firſt Day of the Seſſion, that we were to concert Meaſures, and to act in Conjunction with Powers who are under the ſame Engagements with us, and have not taken Part in the preſent War, more particularly the States General: But I would gladly know, if we have hitherto taken any one Step in Conjunction with them? Is it not well known that in moſt Caſes we have lately made the firſt Step by ourſelves, and then have, with great Difficulty and Expence, prevailed on them to follow us, which they never did, but upon their own Terms, and under very great Reſtrictions and Reſervations: They have now indeed done ſomething for their own Security, but what they have done was, I believe, done without any Thing of our Participation; they did not ſo much, I believe, as conſult with us upon that Head, which really looks as if they had ſome Diſtruſt of our Power, or as if they thought they could not put any Confidence in the Counſels of this Nation; and if our moſt natural Allies ſhould once begin to harbour ſuch an Opinion of us, we may then conclude, that there is no Dependence to be had upon their Friendſhip or Alliance.

'In ſhort, Sir, if his Majeſty expects our Advice upon the preſent State of the Affairs of Europe; if his Majeſty expects the Aſſiſtance of Parliament in the preſent Exigency of Affairs, we muſt be informed how our Affairs ſtand, before we can in a proper parliamentary Way give either our Advice or Aſſiſtance: It was with this View, and with this View only, that ſome Papers have been already called for, which have indeed been refuſed by a Majority; it is with this View only, that the Papers mentioned in the Motion now before us are aſked for, and if they likewiſe be refuſed by a Majority, we may, perhaps, give his Majeſty

ſuch

ſuch Aſſiſtance as his Miniſters ſhall pleaſe to aſk; but I am ſure we can give no Advice, nor can we give a Reaſon for what we do.' Anno 7. Geo. II. 1733-34.

Sir Robert Walpole ſpoke next, Sir R. Walpole.

Sir,

'I will agree with the honourable Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, that the preſent Poſture of Affairs does require, and his Majeſty expects the Aſſiſtance of Parliament; but I will ſay, that the preſent Motion, and ſome ſuch lately made, had the Houſe agreed to them, would have tended to increaſe the preſent Troubles and Confuſions Abroad, rather than to have given any real Aſſiſtance either to ourſelves or others. I believe, Sir, there is not a Court in Europe, whether engaged in the preſent War, or otherwiſe, but expected to have known by the 17th of this Month, what Part Great Britain was to have taken in the preſent War; as yet it remains unreſolv'd, or, at leaſt, a Secret, and it is the Intereſt of Great Britain it ſhould continue ſo; but ſome Gentlemen ſeem inclined not only to precipitate their Country into a Reſolution, but to publiſh that Reſolution, as ſoon as taken, to the whole World; and which Side deſerves moſt the Thanks of their Country, thoſe who are for our coming to no Reſolution 'till we have fully examined the Circumſtances of Affairs, and even then concealing our Reſolutions till we are juſt ready to carry them into Execution; or thoſe who are for our coming to a haſty Reſolution, and immediately publiſhing it to the World that our Enemies may have Time to provide againſt it, I leave to the World to judge.

'Whatever other Gentlemen may think, it is my Opinion, that our Situation is much better than can well be expected; and whenever that Matter ſhall come to be examin'd into, I believe it will appear, that our preſent Situation is the very beſt the Nation could poſſibly be in, with relation to the preſent Poſture of Affairs in Europe. The Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, was pleaſed to mention the States of Holland, and that they had done ſomething for their own Security; 'tis true, they have done ſomething, they have enter'd into a Treaty of Neutrality; whereas we have remain'd entirely in a State of Inaction; but upon this very Account, I think, we are in a much better Condition than they are, for by that Neutrality they have engaged not to act at all, nor to concern themſelves in the preſent War; we are ſtill at Liberty, and may, upon any Event, take that Part which ſhall then appear to be moſt for the Intereſt of Great Britain: In this then our Caſe is better than theirs, becauſe they are engaged by an expreſs Stipulation not to concern themſelves in the preſent War, whereas we are under

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der no Engagement, but that natural Obligation which lies upon every Country not to concern themſelves in any War, unleſs they find it for their Intereſt ſo to do.

'I do not believe, Sir, that the States General, or any other foreign Power has leſs Truſt in the Strength, or leſs Confidence in the Counſels of this Nation than they formerly had; but if it were ſo, I ſhould not wonder at it, when every Poſt tells them, that we are a divided Nation, and that there is no Dependence to be had upon our preſent Counſels, becauſe great Alterations are ſoon to happen, which muſt neceſſarily produce a thorough Change in all our publick Meaſures; and upon this Conſideration I leave it to every impartial Man to judge, if we are in any unhappy Situation, who have contributed moſt to it, thoſe who have honeſtly and faithfully ſerved the Crown, or thoſe who have made it their Buſineſs for ſome Years, to do all that was in their Power to diſtreſs every Meaſure of his Majeſty's Government; and that too in Conjunction with a Perſon who I believe will never be truſted by any Court in Europe.

'His Majeſty, in his Speech from the Throne, has told us, that he is not any Way engaged in the preſent War, and that he will take Time to examine the Facts alledged on both Sides, before he comes to any Determination; when he has done ſo, it is not to be doubted, but that he will lay all the Informations he can get before his Parliament, and will take the Advice of Parliament, what Part the Nation ought to take in the then Conjuncture; why then ſhould we endeavour to anticipate his Majeſty's wiſe Deſigns? Why ſhould we run headlong and plunge the Nation into a War, by joining either one Side or other, before his Majeſty has had any Time to examine into the Poſture of Affairs abroad? This ſeems, indeed, to be the View of ſome Gentlemen; but ſurely ſuch a raſh Proceeding would rather increaſe than diminiſh the Unhappineſs of our preſent Situation; and is very far from that Coolneſs and Temper which ought to be ſhewn, when the very Safety of our Country depends upon the Prudence and Unanimity of our Reſolutions.

'An honourable Gentleman, Sir, who ſpoke ſome time ago, took indeed a great deal of Liberty in talking of Majorities of Parliament; but I would have Gentlemen to know, that when they talk of ſuch Majorities at preſent, they ſpeak of their Equals as Members of this Houſe, of their Equals on any Ground in England; let Gentlemen but caſt their Eyes round the Houſe, and they will find a Number of Gentlemen ſuperior to the higheſt Number of their Minority, who can as little be ſuſpected of Corruption, as any of thoſe who generally appear upon the Minority Side of the Queſtion.

'It

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'It is, Sir, an eaſy Matter for Gentlemen to repreſent the Meaſures, lately taken by the Government, as unwiſe, inconſiſtent, and the like, or to give them what other Epithets they have a mind, but when the Day comes for inquiring into them, which I as heartily wiſh for as any Gentleman in this Houſe, I believe thoſe Meaſures will appear in a quite different Light; and thoſe Gentlemen, who may perhaps have hearkned to every little Whiſper of ſome of the foreign Miniſters at this Court, which is, I believe, the only Foundation they have for what they have aſſerted, will find themſelves at laſt diſappointed. Whenever ſuch an Inquiry ſhall be reſolved on, I make no Doubt, but that the Majority of this Houſe will agree to call for every Paper, that can be thought neceſſary for giving the Houſe a full Information of the preſent State of the Nation: But this is not the Queſtion at preſent, nor are we now to inquire whether his Majeſty has had a Share in thoſe Tranſactions, which have given Occaſion to the preſent War in Europe; and therefore I cannot think we have, at preſent, any thing to do with any Inſtructions given to his Majeſty's Miniſters in Poland or elſewhere.

'His Majeſty, 'tis true, Sir, expects the Aſſiſtance of his Parliament, but for what? He does not immediately expect ſuch an Aſſiſtance as to enable him to take any Part in the preſent War; he wants only ſuch an Aſſiſtance as may enable him to put the Nation in a proper Poſture of Defence; and ſurely we may determine what Aſſiſtance will be neceſſary for that End, without inquiring into any of our foreign Negotiations. It is for this Reaſon, Sir, that I think the Houſe has done right, in rejecting all the Motions hitherto made for Letters and Inſtructions relating to our foreign Affairs, and, for the ſame Reaſon I make no doubt, but that they will likewiſe reject the preſent Motion.'

The Queſtion being then put upon Mr Sandys's Motion, it was carried in the Negative by 202 againſt 114.

Mr Waller's Motion for an Addreſs to know, how far the King was engaged, by his good Offices, in the Cauſes of the War againſt the Emperor.

Then Mr Edmund Waller, Member for Great Marlow, roſe up and moved, That an humble Addreſs ſhould be preſented to his Majeſty, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to communicate to the Houſe, how far he had been engaged, by his good Offices, in thoſe Tranſactions, which had been declar'd to be the principal Cauſes and Motives of the War, which was then begun and carried on againſt the Emperor, with ſo much Vigour, by the united Powers of France, Spain, and Sardinia. This Motion was ſeconded, but, being oppoſed by the Courtiers, it was carried in the Negative, without a Diviſion.

Then Mr Sandys ſtood up again, and ſaid, 'That though the Motion he had juſt before made had been rejected, yet, as

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he never propoſed any Thing in that Houſe, but what he thought juſt and reaſonable, he was not therefore apt to be diſcourag'd; and for that Reaſon he would beg Leave to make another Motion, which he hoped would meet with better Succeſs, which was, That an humble Addreſs ſhould be preſented to his Majeſty, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to communicate to the Houſe, what Application had been made to him by the ſeveral Parties then engaged in the War, founded upon Treaties or other Engagements.'

Mr Sandys's Motion for an Account of what Application had been made to his Majeſty, by the Parties engaged in the War.

Debate thereon.

Sir J. Ruſhout.

This Motion being ſeconded by Sir John Ruſhout, the ſame was oppoſed by Mr Henry Pelham, who ſpoke as follows.

Sir,

Mr H. Pelham.

'It is very true, that the honourable Gentleman, who made you this Motion, is not very apt to be diſcouraged, but however he may flatter himſelf with Succeſs in his preſent Motion, it is, in my Opinion, ſo much of a Kin to his former Motion, which the Houſe has already rejected, that I can ſee no Reaſon he has to expect, that the preſent ſhould have a different Fate. His Majeſty has already told us, that he was no way engaged in the preſent War, nor had had any Share in thoſe Tranſactions which gave Riſe to it; and therefore 'tis not to be preſumed, that any Power engag'd has made any Application to him founded upon Treaties or other Engagements. Some of them might perhaps have made an Application to his Majeſty for his Aſſiſtance; but even ſuch Application was not to be preſumed, becauſe, had any ſuch Application been made, it was not to be doubted, but that his Majeſty, in his Speech from the Throne, would have taken ſome Notice of it. As this Queſtion, Sir, is of the ſame Nature with the former Queſtion moved by that Gentleman, and founded upon the ſame Jealouſy of his Majeſty's Conduct, it is impoſſible for me to have any thing new to urge againſt it; but I believe it is as impoſſible for any Gentleman in this Houſe to ſay any thing new in Favour of it; and therefore I ſhall give the Houſe no farther trouble, only to declare, that I ſhall give my Negative to it, as well as I did to the former.'

Then Mr Pulteney ſpoke in Favour of the Motion.

Sir,

Mr Pulteney.

'In whatever Light the honourable Gentleman, who ſpoke laſt, may take the preſent Motion, I think it muſt bear a very different Conſideration from the Motion formerly made by my worthy Friend. I believe it will not be denied, but that we are under ſome Engagements to every one, or, at leaſt, to moſt of the Powers concern'd in the preſent War; and whatever we may at preſent pretend to think of

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those Engagements, it is very probable, that those to whom we are engaged think otherwise: It is not to be doubted, but that some of them think that we are, by the Engagements we have entered into, obliged to assist them, upon the present Emergency; and it is pretty well known, that they have made Application for an immediate Performance of those Engagements. I have heard, that ten thousand Land-Forces, or some such Number, has been actually demanded by one of the Powers engaged in the War; I will not, indeed, affirm the Truth of it, though I have something more than the Whisper of a foreign Minister to confirm what I say.

'It is well known, Sir, that in most of the Engagements we have entered into with foreign Powers, it is left to the Choice of the Power we are engaged with, to demand a Quota in a Squadron of Ships, a certain Sum of Money, or a certain Number of Troops; and as we are to go into a Committee upon the Supply on Monday next, there is nothing more reasonable, than that the House should be informed of what Demands have been made upon us, and whether those Demands have been for Ships, Money, or Men, before we go into that Committee; for, without such Information, it will be impossible for us to know how to come to such Resolutions, as may be most for the Safety and Honour of the Nation. The Motion is therefore so far from being unreasonable, that it is necessary it should be complied with; and if it is not, I cannot really see how we can properly go into the Committee upon the Supply on Monday next.'

To this Sir William Yonge replied; Sir W. Yonge.

Sir,

'I can see no Reason, why the House may not be fully prepared for going into the Committee of Supply on Monday next, though this Motion should be rejected as the others have been; and therefore I do not think it necessary to enter into the Debate at present, whether the Motion be reasonable or no; there may be another Time for that Question, for which Reason I shall now only move for the previous Question.

Hereupon Mr Pulteney stood up again, and said: Mr Pulteney.

Sir,

'I find the Gentleman, who spoke last, has avoided entering upon the Merits of the Question, and, by a Sort of parliamentary Trick, by moving for the previous Question, he intends, it seems, to put off the Question for this Day, at least; this, in my Opinion, is treating the Question with much greater Indecency than if it were to be fairly argu'd, and afterwards rejected; for if the Question be delay'd 'till

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after Monday next, it will then be too late to enter upon the Conſideration of it; it will really be in Effect, firſt to reſolve, and then to enter into the Conſideration of what ought to be reſolved; and therefore I muſt deſire, that the Queſtion may be fairly debated, that Gentlemen would, at leaſt, give us a Reaſon for what they are to do, and then let the Motion ſtand or fall upon its own Merits.

Sir W. Yonge. To this Sir William Yonge anſwer'd as follows:

Sir,

'I did not intend any Trick when I moved for the previous Queſtion; it is what has been always practiſed in this Houſe, when any Queſtion has been moved, which Gentlemen have a Mind to favour ſo much as not to put a Negative upon it: But even as to the Merits of the Queſtion, it cannot, certainly, have any Relation to any Reſolutions we can poſſibly come to on Monday next in the Committee of Supply; for all the Reſolutions we come to in that Committee, are founded upon Eſtimates given in, or Demands made by the Crown; and if any Demand were to be made upon this Houſe, to enable his Majeſty to ſend a Quota either of Ships of War, Money, or Troops, to any Power in Europe, ſuch Demand would certainly be laid before this Houſe by his Majeſty's Orders, without putting us to the Trouble of preſenting any ſuch Addreſs as is now moved for; there is therefore no Neceſſity for entering this Day upon the Merits of this Queſtion; the Gentleman may renew his Motion when he thinks proper, and then I do not doubt but other Gentlemen will debate the Reaſonableneſs of it; and as it appears to the Houſe, it will certainly be agreed to or rejected; but as I do not think this a proper Time for debating it, I muſt inſiſt upon my Motion.'

Mr W. Plumer. Then Mr Walter Plumer ſaid,

Sir,

'As we ſhall probably come on Monday next to ſome Reſolutions with reſpect to our Seamen, I ſhould think it neceſſary for this Houſe to know what Demands have been made upon us by our Allies, before we come to any Reſolution on that Head; otherwiſe we may leave Room for thoſe extraordinary Meſſages and Demands towards the End of the Seſſion, which this Nation has of late been too much accuſtomed to. The Gentleman who moved the previous Queſtion, ſays, 'That this is not a proper Time for entering 'upon the Merits of the Motion now made to us, becauſe, 'if any ſuch Application had been made by any of our 'Allies, and his Majeſty had reſolved to grant what was 'aſked, he would have ordered this to be laid before us, 'together with the Eſtimates and Demands of the current 'Service of the enſuing Year.' Is not this directly to tell

us,

us, that after his Majeſty has come to a Determination what Part to act, he will be graciouſly pleaſed to take the Advice of Parliament. It is true, his Majeſty has by his Prerogative the Power of making Peace or War: But in a Matter of ſo great Conſequence, it has always appeared to be the Intereſt, nay, I may ſay, it has always been thought to be the Duty of the Kings of England, to take the Advice of their People in Parliament aſſembled, and not to truſt entirely to the Advice of their Miniſters; and if any ſuch Demand, as is mention'd in the Motion now before us, has been made by any of his Majeſty's Allies, I cannot think that it would be any Way derogatory to the Prerogative of the Crown, or to the Wiſdom of the Miniſters, to lay it before the Parliament, whether it ought to be comply'd with or not.' Anno 7. Geo. II. 1733-34.

Mr Cockburn, Knight of the Shire for Haddington, ſpoke next. Mr Cockburn.

Sir,

'I was againſt the firſt Motion, becauſe ſome Gentlemen had aſſured the Houſe, and I was myſelf a little afraid, that at preſent it might tend to increaſe the Confuſions and Troubles that are now in Europe; but the preſent Motion I take to be of a very different Nature; I am ſure that, ſhould it be comply'd with, no Secrets can thereby be diſcovered, nor can it poſſibly tend to increaſe the preſent Troubles of Europe.

'I am old enough to remember the Beginning of the firſt great War againſt France, and I remember, that as ſoon as the Dutch applied to us for our Aſſiſtance, King William immediately laid the Caſe before the Parliament, and took their Advice, as to what was proper to be done upon that Emergency, before he came to any Reſolution: Upon the breaking out of the ſecond War, the late Queen did the ſame; and I muſt ſay, that I think every King of this Nation ought to follow that Example; if they expect the Aſſiſtance of Parliament, they ought to take the Advice of Parliament; and our Hiſtories will inform us, that where they have done ſo, they have generally done well, and where they have done otherwiſe, they have had but little Succeſs; for which Reaſon I am for agreeing with the Motion now made to us.'

The Previous Queſtion being then put upon Mr Sandys's Motion, it was carried in the Negative, without a Diviſion.

February 4. A Petition of the Druggiſts, and others dealing in Tea, was preſented to the Houſe, and read; alledging, that by an Act paſſed in the 10th Year of King George I. the Petitioners were induced to hope, that the Duty ariſing from Tea would be better ſecured to his Majeſty, Sir J. Barnard preſents a Petition from the Dealers in Tea, for Relief againſt the Exciſe Laws.

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ſty, and the Intereſt of the fair Trader be better ſupported, but have fatally experienced the contrary Effects; the clandeſtine Importation of Tea being greatly increaſed, to the Damage of the publick Revenue, and Ruin of the fair Trader, occaſioned by the great Difference of the Value of that Commodity at this and foreign Markets, whereby the Smugglers are enabled to purchaſe it Abroad for leſs than half the Duty paid here: That the Regulations which the Petitioners are laid under, are moſt burthenſome and grievous, their Houſes being liable to be entered by Perſons unknown to them, and their Properties ſubjected to the judicial Determination of Commiſſioners: That the Petitioners are liable to ſevere Penalties for Errors and Omiſſions abſolutely unavoidable, and reſtrained from diſpoſing of their Goods, after having paid Duty for the ſame, without Permits from the Officer of the Inland Duties, expreſſing the Names and Places of Abode of the reſpective Buyers and Sellers, expoſing thereby the Extent and Circumſtances of their Trade; whereby the Petitioners conceived they were in a worſe Condition than any other of his Majeſty's Subjects, and therefore praying the Houſe to take the Premiſſes into Conſideration, and give them ſuch Relief as to the Houſe ſhould ſeem meet.' This Petition was preſented by Sir John Barnard, who ſpoke in Favour of the ſame as follows:

Sir John Barnard's Speech in behalf of the ſaid Petition.

Mr Speaker,

'As this Petition is the ſame with that preſented to this Houſe laſt Seſſion, I need not take up much of your Time in opening it to the Houſe. The Petitioners apprehend they labour under very great Grievances, by their being ſubject to the Laws of Exciſe; and as this Houſe, in the very laſt Seſſion of Parliament, thought it unreaſonable to ſubject ſome other Sorts of Traders and Dealers to thoſe oppreſſive Laws, the Petitioners think they have Reaſon from thence to conclude, that this Houſe will be ready to relieve them from thoſe Burdens.

'The chief Objection made to the Petition laſt Year was, that it was ſigned only by a few, and thoſe not the moſt conſiderable Dealers in that Commodity, but now this Objection is intirely removed; for I am ſure there is not a conſiderable Dealer within the City of London, who has not ſigned this Petition. The great Frauds committed in the running of Tea, which are daily increaſing, are now become a very great and a general Grievance, not only with reſpect to the Publick, but to the fair Trader: It is impoſſible for a Man, who honeſtly pays the heavy Duties upon the Commodity he deals in, to ſell ſo cheap as the Smuggler may do, therefore, if ſome Stop is not ſpeedily put to that infamous

infamous Practice, we may expect in a few Years the whole Trade of the Kingdom, ſo far as relates to our Home-Conſumption, will be got into the Hands of Smugglers only, and the Retailers who buy from them. It was expected that the Alteration, made ſome Years ago in the Method of collecting thoſe Duties, would have prevented this infamous Practice: When that Project was firſt ſet on foot, I remember, ſome People aſſured us, it would entirely put an End to Smuggling; but Experience has taught us the contrary; for ſince that Alteration it has been much more general than before; ſo that we have ſubjected a great Number of our Fellow-Subjects to infinite Hardſhips, without gaining thereby any Benefit to the Publick.

'As this Practice of Smuggling, which has of late ſo much increaſed, muſt be likewiſe a conſiderable Detriment to the publick Revenue, the Petitioners hope we ſhall take the Affair again under our Conſideration, and endeavour to contrive ſome Methods for preventing this infamous Practice for the future: If then the Relief of a great Number of our Fellow-Subjects from Grievances they juſtly complain of, if the Encouragement of the fair Trader, if the Increaſing of the publick Revenue, are Conſiderations which ought to weigh with a Britiſh Parliament, I am ſure the Caſe now before us, in which all three are joined, deſerves the utmoſt Regard of this Houſe; therefore I cannot doubt of the Petition's being referred to a Committee. And when we go into that Committee, ſeveral Gentlemen will offer their Opinions, and propoſe Expedients for the Relief of the Petitioners, as well as for the Advantage of the Revenue: But as theſe Things can't properly come now under our Conſideration, I ſhall not give the Houſe any farther Trouble at preſent, but only to move, That the Petition may be referred to the Conſideration of a Committee of the whole Houſe.

Debate thereon.

The above Motion being ſeconded by Mr Perry, Mr Winnington ſtood up and ſpoke as follows:

Mr Perry.
Mr Winnington.

Sir,

'I can by no Means agree with the two honourable Gentlemen in the Motion they have made. The Relieving any of our Fellow-Subjects from Grievances they juſtly complain of, the Encouraging of the fair Trader, and the Increaſing the publick Revenue, are Matters indeed of a very great Concern, and always deſerve the utmoſt Attention of this Houſe, when they are regularly and properly brought before us; but I cannot think that this Petition can properly bring either of them before us, nor can I think it is now a proper Time to go into a Committee upon this or any ſuch Petition. There is nothing that can be propoſed in conſe-

quence

Anno 7. Geo. II. 1733-34.

quence of this Petition, but what may diminiſh the publick Revenue, and as we are in a manner now juſt upon the Brink of a War, I think it would be very unwiſe in us to do any thing that may poſſibly diminiſh that Revenue, for which we may ſoon have ſo great an Occaſion.

'As to the infamous Practice of Smuggling, and the Frauds committed in that Branch of the publick Revenue, which the Petition relates to, I believe, every Gentleman would willingly do ſomething to prevent it, if poſſible; but the Method, propoſed by this Petition, appears really to me in a very ſtrange Light: It has been found, they ſay, that the Laws of Exciſe joined with the Laws of the Cuſtoms, have not been effectual for preventing all thoſe Frauds; and therefore Gentlemen propoſe, that we ſhould take off one of theſe Checks, and indeed, that which muſt be acknowledged to be the moſt effectual of the two, in order to prevent Running for the future. I need not ſay any thing to convince Gentlemen, that this Propoſition cannot be ſuppoſed to tend to the Encouragement of the fair Trader, or to increaſe the publick Revenue: As to the Petitioners, if they are all fair Traders, they muſt acknowledge, it would be ſo far from giving them Relief, that it would intirely ruin them.

'I ſhould be glad to hear any Thing propoſed for the Benefit of the fair Trader, or Security of the publick Revenue: But for us to go into a Committee upon that Subject, when no Gentleman of this Houſe can ſay that there is any particular Method or Scheme to be propoſed, would be taking up the Time of the Houſe to no Purpoſe. Beſides, if there were really any Schemes to be propoſed to us for putting an End to Frauds and Smuggling, it is not now a proper Time for us to enter into the Conſideration of them; for as it is now the laſt Seſſion of a Parliament, and conſidering the preſent Poſture of Affairs of Europe, it muſt be preſumed that the ſhort Time we have to ſit will be taken up in Matters of very great Weight, and which require a more immediate Conſideration, there cannot be any great Inconvenience in putting off this Affair to another Seſſion; and therefore I muſt be againſt the Motion now made, and ſhall move, That the Petition may be ordered to 'lie upon the Table.'

Mr Perry.

To this Mr Perry reply'd,

'Sir,

'When this Motion was made by my honourable and worthy Friend, I did not apprehend it would have met with any Oppoſition; therefore I gave the Houſe no other Trouble than juſt to ſecond the Motion: But now I hope I ſhall be indulged a few Words in Support of it. It has

always

always been my Opinion, that while we ſit here, no Time can be improper for our taking into our Conſideration a Petition ſigned by ſuch a Number of conſiderable Traders: The Hearing of Complaints from the Subjects, and the Redreſſing of their Grievances, I have always underſtood to be a chief Part of the Buſineſs of Parliament; and I am ſorry to hear it ſaid in this Houſe, that any Time is improper for ſuch a Conſideration, eſpecially when it is not ſo much as pretended, that the Complaints are frivolous, or that the Petitioners are inconſiderable. Anno 7. Geo. II. 1733-34.

'The honourable Gentleman ſpoke of our being on the Brink of a War, and therefore thought it unwiſe for us to attempt to do any Thing that might leſſen the publick Revenue: I believe no Gentleman in this Houſe means to leſſen the publick Revenue; the very End of the Motion now made is to endeavour ſomething that may increaſe the publick Revenue, by preventing thoſe Frauds by which it is greatly diminiſhed. The Gentleman allows, that the Laws of Exciſe and Cuſtoms, when joined together, are ineffectual for preventing the running of Tea; but thinks it ſtrange, that the taking off one of thoſe Checks ſhould be propoſed as a Method for the preventing of running for the future, and it would be ſo if this were the only Method; but there may be ſome Method propoſed, if we go into a Committee upon this Affair, which will render the Laws of the Cuſtoms ſingly more effectual againſt Smuggling than both the Laws of Exciſe and Cuſtoms have been: In ſuch Caſe it will not appear ſtrange to give a Relief to many of our diſtreſſed Countrymen, by freeing them from the oppreſſive Laws of Exciſe.

'If Gentlemen will examine this Affair a little, they will find, that by adding the Laws of Exciſe to the Laws of the Cuſtoms, they have neither given a Check to Smuggling, nor increaſed the publick Revenue, in Proportion as the Conſumption of that Commodity has increaſed of late Years within this Kingdom. In 1716, the Duty upon Coffee and Tea amounted to but ſixty odd thouſand Pounds; From 1716 to 1724 that Duty continued ſubject only to the Laws of the Cuſtoms, and yet ſo greatly did our Conſumption increaſe within that Time, that in the Year 1723 the Duty amounted to 112,000 l. near double the Sum in that ſeven Years which preceded the Alteration. This can be attributed only to the Increaſe of the Conſumption, for it cannot be ſaid, that the Cuſtom-Houſe Officers were more exact and diligent, or the Smugglers leſs ſkilled in the Arts of Deceit in that Year, than they had been in any of the former.

Anno 7. Geo. II. 1733-34.

'In 1724, the famous Alteration now complained of was made: We cannot ſuppoſe the Conſumption has ſince decreaſed; on the contrary, as Tea has been ſold cheaper than ever it was before, we muſt ſuppoſe that the Conſumption has greatly increaſed; and as by this Alteration the unfair Traders were entirely put out of all their old Arts of Smuggling, or at leaſt of diſpoſing of their run Goods, we muſt ſuppoſe the Duty increaſed, and accordingly it did ſo till the Year 1729; when it amounted to about 162,000 l. But by that Time the Smugglers began to learn new Arts of Deceit, and to contrive new Ways of defrauding the Publick; ſo that ſince the Year 1729, the Duty has been decreaſing, and is now reduced to leſs than 120,000 l. *per Annum*. From hence it muſt appear, that the Publick has not gained much by the Alteration of the Method of Collection, which lies ſo heavy on all the Dealers in that Commodity.

'It is certain, that this Decreaſe in the publick Revenue ſince the Year 1729, cannot be owing to any Decreaſe in the Conſumption of that Commodity; for it is of late Years ſold ſo cheap, that the very meaneſt of the People make uſe of it. A poor Woman of my Neighbourhood, for whom I had ſome Time before procured twelve-pence *per* Week Charity, acknowledged to me, that ſhe had Tea every Morning for her Breakfaſt, and ſaid that, except Water, it was the cheapeſt Drink ſhe could get; and therefore, as the Conſumption muſt be much larger, and the Produce of the Duty very little ſuperior now to what it it was in the Year 1723, we muſt conclude, the Alteration now complained of has rather increaſed than diminiſhed Smuggling.

'The honourable Gentleman ſhould not have ſaid it was propoſed to leſſen the publick Revenue, or to take off any of thoſe Checks which have been laid upon Smuggling; there has not been any Thing propoſed, nor is it proper there ſhould, until we go into the Committee moved for, which I have Reaſon to believe the Houſe will agree to, becauſe I have not yet heard any one Argument offer'd againſt it, but only of its not being now a proper Time. This indeed has been almoſt the only Argument made uſe of againſt moſt Things that have been propoſed this Seſſion, and I really believe we are to hear no other from that Quarter; but I muſt think, that it is a very unfair Way of treating any Propoſition; and however ſuch Arguments may prevail in this Houſe, I am ſure they will give but very little Satisfaction without Doors.'

Sir W. Yonge.

Mr Perry was oppoſed by Sir William Yonge.

Sir,

'Notwithſtanding what the honourable Gentleman who made

made the Motion, and the honourable Gentleman who ſpoke laſt have urged in Support of their Motion, I muſt agree with my honourable Friend on the Floor, that the preſent is not at all a proper Time, nor indeed are we any Way prepared for going into a Committee upon the Petition before us. I am ſurpriz'd to hear it pretended that no Argument has been offered againſt the Motion, but that of its not being a proper Time; have not Gentlemen been told, is it not well known that this is the laſt Seſſion of a Parliament, which muſt always be pretty much hurried? And therefore it is not proper to bring before us an Affair of ſuch a complicated Nature, and which will require ſo much Time to ſearch throughly to the Bottom of the Wound, before we can ſo much as pretend to apply, or even to find out a proper Remedy. Anno 7. Geo. II. 1733-34.

'Does not every Man know, that the preſent Poſture of Affairs in Europe may probably bring Matters of much greater Importance before us, Matters of the higheſt Conſequence to the whole Nation? Shall we then take up the ſhort Time we have to ſit, in the Examination of Affairs relating to one ſmall Branch of the Revenue, the delaying of which until another Seſſion, can be of no ſignal Diſadvantage to the Nation in general, or even to any private Man? We ought to be the more cautious of entering into the Examination of this Petition, becauſe it may bring before us a great many ſuch: Several Sorts of other Commodities are ſubject to the Laws of Exciſe; if we once enter upon giving Relief to the Petitioners, we may expect Petitions from the Dealers in all thoſe other Commodities.

'The Gentleman who ſpoke laſt has, I find, been at the Pains to conſider the Amount of the Duty upon Tea, for ſeven Years before and ſeven Years after the Alteration in the Method of collecting it; and I agree with him, that in this laſt Year the Produce amounted to no more than 120,000 l. But I muſt take Notice, that his Method of comparing the one with the other is neither fair nor juſt: He has, out of the Time before that Alteration was made, picked out the Year, when the Produce of that Duty amounted to the higheſt Sum that it ever did before the Alteration was made; and out of that Time ſince the Alteration was made, he has picked out that Year, when the Produce of that Duty was the loweſt that it has been in any Year ſince.

'I appeal to every Gentleman that hears me, if the fair Way of ſtating this Matter is not, to compute the Amount of the Duty for ſeven Years before, in order to fix a Medium for that ſeven Years; and next to compute the Amount for ſeven Years after, in order to fix a Medium for that

Anno 7. Geo. II. 1733-34.

Time, and then to compare the Mediums together. According to this Method it will be found, that the publick Revenue has been increaſed above 34,000 l. *per Annum*. Beſides this, the Gentleman forgot to mention Seizures, which in this Caſe ought to be taken Notice of, and added to the yearly Increaſe; by them it will be found there is an Addition of 20,000 l. a Year more made to the publick Revenue, which in the whole amounts to 54,000 l. a Year; an Increaſe, which I believe no Gentleman in this Houſe will think inconſiderable; nor ought we to go raſhly into the changing of that Method, by which this Increaſe has been made, eſpecially when we are at leaſt in Danger of being upon the Brink of a War, as has been hinted by my honourable Friend.

'I allow the Practice of running Tea is a Loſs to the Publick, and an Injury to the fair Trader, and is come to a very great Heighth of late; but the Manner of carrying it on is very different from what it was. The Smugglers now travel 30 or 40 together, well armed and provided for a deſperate Defence; they carry their Goods from Houſe to Houſe, and actually murder the King's Officers: This dangerous Method they have been reduced to by the Laws of Exciſe, and will any Gentleman deſire to have that Check removed, which has laid them under ſo great Difficulties?

'Gentlemen ſay, Arguments are not offered againſt what they propoſe, or at leaſt only ſuch as are general; but, I think, it has always been the Cuſtom, when any thing new is offered, thoſe who are for it give their Reaſons, and if thoſe Reaſons cannot be ſufficiently anſwered, the Houſe then agrees with the Motion. Now I wiſh thoſe Gentlemen would give us ſome particular Argument in Support of what they propoſe, agree upon ſome particular Facts, and then the Gentlemen, who ſeem to be of a contrary Opinion, would be able to debate the Queſtion fairly with them; but ſince they have not been able to agree on any Facts, or to give us any particular Reaſons for referring this Petition to a Committee, I muſt conclude that even they themſelves are not prepared for taking it into Conſideration; therefore I hope it will be ordered to lye on the Table.'

To this Mr Sandys replied:

Sir,

Mr Sandys.

'The honourable Gentleman, who ſpoke laſt, deſired we might agree on particular Facts, and argue from thoſe Facts. This would be a proper and a reaſonable Demand, if we were now in a Committee upon the Petition; but as the only Queſtion before us is, whether or no we ſhall go into a Committee, I cannot think, that it is either proper or reaſonable. It is acknowledged, that the Practice of Smuggling

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s come to a very great Heighth, and I believe it will not be denied, but that all thoſe who are ſubject to the Laws of Exciſe are under a great many Inconveniences, which their Fellow-Subjects not liable to ſuch Laws are free from: This alone ought to be a ſufficient Inducement for us to go into a Committee; for in moſt Caſes Petitioners, who complain of Grievances, are to prove the Facts they alledge before the Committee; and Petitioners are generally referred to Committees upon Suggeſtions only of Grievances, which ought to be redreſſed; but the Caſe now before us is much ſtronger, the Facts alledg'd by the Petitioners are allowed to be true, and the Grievances complained of ſuch as ought to be redreſſed; yet ſome Gentlemen are againſt ſo much as taking their Petition into Conſideration. If this be treating our Fellow-Subjects as they ought to be, I leave to the whole World to judge; but, upon the preſenting a Petition, and upon a Debate whether that Petition ought to be referred to a Committee, to deſire Gentlemen to agree upon particular Facts, eſpecially when the Facts muſt all be ſuch as cannot be known to any but thoſe in the Management of the publick Revenue, is really unreaſonable: It is deſiring Gentlemen to agree upon Facts which it is impoſſible for them to know, 'till they can in a proper Way have an Opportunity to inquire into them. If the Houſe ſhould agree to go into a Committee upon this Petition, I do not doubt but ſuch Papers will be called for, as will make it appear by undeniable Matters of Fact, that not only the Petitioners ought to be relieved, but that ſomething muſt be done for putting an End to the infamous Practice of Smuggling: So that our not being able at preſent to fix upon any particular Facts, is ſo far from being a Reaſon againſt, that it is a ſtrong Reaſon for our referring this Petition to the Conſideration of a Committee. The Petitioners have very juſt Grounds to hope this Houſe will take off from them thoſe Shackles, we moſt juſtly refuſed to put upon the Dealers in Wine and Tobacco: They have as good a Title to all the Liberties and Privileges of Engliſhmen as any other Subjects, and I can ſee no Reaſon for diſtinguiſhing them from the reſt of their Countrymen. In the preſent Caſe Gentlemen need not be afraid of making a Precedent, and laying a Foundation for a great many Petitions; there are no Dealers in England followed by the Laws of Exciſe as the Dealers in Tea are, except only the Dealers in Brandy; therefore, the giving Ear to the heavy and juſt Complaints of the Petitioners, can lay no Foundation for a Multitude of Petitions being brought in upon us from the Dealers in other Commodities; for tho' there are other Commodi-

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ties ſubject to the Laws of Exciſe, yet thoſe go no farther than the firſt Manufacturer; they do not follow the Commodity into the little Shops and Cellars of every petty Retailer. Gentlemen tell us, that we are to have Matters of much greater Weight before us, which require a more immediate Conſideration, and which will take up the whole of that ſhort Time we have to be together. I know nothing of greater Weight than that of effectually ſecuring the publick Revenue, encouraging the fair Trader, and relieving our Fellow-Subjects from the Grievances they labour under; and I wiſh the Gentlemen would inform the Houſe, what it is they think a Matter of much greater Weight. I am ſure, if we are upon the Brink of a War, it renders it much the more neceſſary for us to take the Petition into our Conſideration: As the War can be ſupported only by the publick Revenue, if we are in ſuch Danger, it is the more incumbent upon us to take all poſſible Methods to ſecure and increaſe that Revenue; and as in time of War the fair Trader labours under many Diſcouragements abroad, it will become the more neceſſary to take care that he ſhall labour under as few as poſſible at home; and if we are threat'ned with a War, it is the Buſineſs of this Houſe, and of every Man who wiſhes well to the preſent Eſtabliſhment, to be more diligent than uſual in conciliating the Minds of the People to his Majeſty's Government, which can only be done by removing their Grievances as ſoon as we hear them: Thus, every Argument that has been offered againſt going into a Committee, when duly conſidered, appears to be a ſtrong Argument in Favour of the Motion; therefore, unleſs ſome more weighty Arguments be offered, I am perſuaded the Houſe will not reject it.'

Mr Philips Gibbon ſpoke next:

Sir,

Mr P. Gibbon.

'I ſtand up to agree with my worthy Friend, in the Motion he made for referring this Petition to a Committee of the whole Houſe; and as I have not yet heard any one Argument againſt it, I ſhall not take up much of your Time. I have indeed heard Gentlemen argue againſt what they imagine may be propoſed when we go into it, which to me ſeems a very prepoſterous Way of arguing; they firſt form to themſelves hideous Notions of what is to be propoſed in that Committee, and from thence they reſolve to be againſt going into any ſuch Committee. I would be as unwilling, as any Gentleman in this Houſe, to do any thing at the preſent Juncture for leſſening the publick Revenue, and I am far from believing any ſuch Thing is intended to be propoſed; yet if I did believe it, I ſhould be willing to hear what Gentlemen had to ſay upon that Head, and therefore would not be againſt giving them an Opportunity, eſpecially in

in a Caſe every Man allows to ſtand very much in Need of Redreſs. Anno 7. Geo. II. 1733-34.

'I am of Opinion, thoſe Gentlemen who ſhew ſo very great a Concern for the Revenue, need not be ſo much afraid that the giving a proper Relief to the Petitioners would diminiſh the publick Revenue; for I believe when proper Papers and Accounts are called for, and the Matter fairly and fully examined, it will appear that the Revenue has been no great Gainer by the Alteration ſome Time ago made in the Method of collecting the Duty upon Tea: I believe it will then appear, that the Increaſe of the publick Revenue has not near kept Pace with the Increaſe of the Conſumption; ſo that if thoſe Gentlemen have really nothing elſe to fear but a Decreaſe of the publick Revenue, they need make no Difficulty of relieving the Petitioners. Gentlemen ſay, the Seſſion is to be but ſhort, and therefore we have not Time to enter into the Conſideration of this Affair; upon which I muſt ſay, thoſe who talk ſo, ſeem to have forgot one of the chief Ends of our Meeting here: The Uſage of Parliament anciently was, to grant no Supplies till all Grievances were firſt redreſſed, but the Method ſeems now to be entirely altered: Gentlemen find Time enough to load the Nation with many and heavy Taxes, but can ſpare no Time, it ſeems, to relieve the People from any Burthen or Grievance they juſtly complain of. They who talk ſo, muſt certainly have much more Aſſurance than I am Maſter of: I wonder how, after ſuch a Declaration, they can with Confidence look their Conſtituents in the Face, far leſs expect that they ſhould again do them the Honour to ſend them hither. Thoſe Gentlemen really talk of this Houſe, as if they looked on it as a Regiſter for Taxes, and as if we had nothing to do here but to grant to the Crown what Sums the Miniſters ſhould pleaſe to call for: I hope, we are not yet come to ſuch a low Paſs; I have ſtill a better Opinion of this Houſe than to believe, that you will reject a Motion ſo reaſonable and ſo neceſſary.'

Then Mr Walter Plumer ſaid, Mr Plumer

Sir,

'I am ſo ſenſible of the Grievances of the Petitioners, and the Neceſſity of doing ſomething to put a Stop to that growing Evil of Smuggling, that I have been in Expectation of this Petition ever ſince the Seſſion began. The Time I ſpent in the Country, during the laſt Receſs of Parliament, happened to be where I had Occaſion to ſee a great deal of that infamous Practice; ſo that if there was no other Motive for going into the Committee propoſed, than that of endeavouring to do ſomething to prevent Smuggling, that alone with me would be a prevailing Motive; and for that

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that Reaſon I am ſurpriz'd to ſee the Motion oppoſed by any Gentleman; much more by thoſe Gentlemen, who muſt know much more than I do of the great Increaſe and fatal Effects of this infamous Practice. In the County of Suffolk, the Smugglers went about in ſuch formidable Bodies, that if ſomething is not done to put a Stop to it, they may ſoon threaten Danger even to our Civil Government: I have often met them in Gangs of 40 or 50 together all ſo well mounted, that even the Dragoons could not come up with them; and they give ſuch exceſſive Wages to the Men that will engage with them, that the Landed Intereſt ſuffers conſiderably by it: The common Price of a Day's Labour in that Country is already got up to 18 d. and, even at that Price, it is with great Difficulty that the Farmers can get Labourers; and how can it be otherwiſe? For all the young clever Fellows of the County are employ'd by the Smugglers; from them they have half a Crown a Day while they wait upon the Sea-Coaſt for the landing of the Goods, and as ſoon as the Goods are landed, and they mount on Horſe-back to go about the Country to diſpoſe of them, they have a Guinea a Day, and are well entertained during their Attendance: Thus they find a much eaſier and more profitable Employment than any they can have from the Farmer, and while they are thus employ'd, all Improvements of Land muſt remain in Suſpence. Gentlemen may talk of the great Check put upon Smuggling, by the joining of the Laws of Exciſe to the Laws of the Cuſtoms, but they muſt allow that that Project, from which ſo much Benefit was expected, has proved altogether ineffectual; and I am afraid, that all other Methods will prove ineffectual, as long as the Duty is ſo high, and ſo much Advantage to be got by running. In that Part of the Country where I was, Tea is generally ſold by Retailers in their Shops, at 5 s. a Pound; and as we muſt ſuppoſe the Importer to have a Profit upon Importation, and as the Duty amounts to above 4 s. 9 d. a Pound, I leave Gentlemen to judge whether it is poſſible, to ſell by Retail at 5 s. *per* Pound any Tea, upon which the Duty has been honeſtly paid. It is eaſy to gueſs whence all this Tea comes; the Smugglers buy it in Holland, at 2 s. *per* Pound, and from thence run it into this Country; the Dutch buy it in the Eaſt-Indies at 6 d. *per* Pound, ſo that this Nation pays the Dutch 1 s. 6 d. *per* Pound for the Carriage. This muſt be a vaſt Loſs to the Nation, and certainly ſo great an Advantage to Holland, that I am ſure, if there were now a Dutch Miniſter in our Gallery, he would be extremely pleaſed to hear this Motion rejected; and would not fail to acquaint the States General, how much the Intereſt of Holland had, by ſome Gentlemen in a Britiſh

Houſe

Houſe of Commons, been preferred to that of Great Britain. I am amazed to find that ſome Gentlemen do not ſee how much the Revenue ſuffers by the Practice of Smuggling, and tho' I do not expect that they ſhould take any great Care of the Subject, yet I hope they will take ſome Care of the publick Revenue, ſince they have the fingering and managing of it. Upon the whole, I muſt ſay, if we have any Regard for the Subjects in general, for the Trade of this Nation, for the publick Revenue, for the landed Intereſt, particularly the Tillage; we certainly muſt agree to go into this Committee; I am ſure nothing more worthy of our Conſideration can poſſibly come before us; therefore I ſhall be moſt heartily for the Queſtion.'

Anno 7. Geo. II. 1733-34.

Then Mr Henry Pelham ſpoke againſt the Petition.

Mr H. Pelham.

Sir,

'I cannot ſay, indeed, with the Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, that I have been in daily Expectation of this Petition; on the contrary, I was in Hopes, as the Senſe of this Houſe had been taken upon it laſt Seſſion, the Petitioners would have choſen a more proper Time for renewing their Requeſt, than when we are upon the Brink of a War. Our Situation is at preſent ſuch, that to do any Thing which might poſſibly leſſen the publick Revenue, would be acting otherwiſe than this Houſe ought to do; the preſenting it at ſuch a critical Juncture, ſeems really done with no other View, but that of reviving thoſe Clamours and Diſturbances, which were lately ſo artfully ſtirred up over the whole Kingdom. It is impoſſible to talk either for or againſt committing a Petition, without entering ſome way into the Merits of it, and into what may be expected to be done in that Committee: In this, if there is any Irregularity, the Gentlemen who have ſpoke for referring the Petition to a Committee, have been as guilty as thoſe who ſpoke againſt it; but in my Opinion, there is nothing more proper to be conſider'd at preſent, than whether or no there can poſſibly be any Thing propoſed in that Committee, for redreſſing the Grievances complained of in the Petition; for if no preſent Redreſs can be thought of, it would not be very conſiſtent with the Dignity of this Houſe, to go into a Committee upon any Affair, only to ſtare at one another, and then to break up without hearing any Thing propoſed, or coming to any one Reſolution; and as yet I have heard nothing mentioned, nor ſo much as hinted at for us to do in that Committee, but what might probably diminiſh the publick Revenue, which is a Riſque we ought not to run at preſent. I am very ſenſible of the great Enormities committed by the Smugglers, eſpecially in the adjacent Counties. The open and outrageous Manner in which they carry

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on their Frauds is well known; but that Method of Smuggling is much more expenſive, difficult, and dangerous, than the private Way they had of carrying on that Practice, before the Laws of the Exciſe were joined to thoſe of the Cuſtoms; it is likewiſe well known, how many Seizures have lately been made, and how many of thoſe Smugglers have been quite ruined and undone; this muſt neceſſarily diſcourage any new Undertakers in that Way, and will certainly put an End to the Practice. I ſhall not now pretend to ſay, what Increaſe has been made to the publick Revenue, by ſubjecting Tea, Coffee, and Chocolate to the Laws of Exciſe, but it is certain that Branch of the Revenue has been ſince that Time increaſed, and I cannot think but there was more Smuggling before than ſince that Alteration was made; there were not indeed ſo many Seizures made before, nor was Smuggling formerly carried on in ſo open or ſo violent a Manner; ſo that it has ſince made a great deal more Noiſe, and from thence moſt People conclude, falſely I believe, that Smuggling has lately increaſed.

'It is true, moſt of thoſe Things now under the Laws of Exciſe, are not ſo much followed after as Tea, which indeed makes a Difference as to the Number of Perſons who are thereby ſubjected to the Exciſe Laws: But as to thoſe who, by their being Manufacturers of ſuch other Commodities, are ſubjected to ſuch Laws, they certainly have as much Reaſon to complain of Grievances, as the Dealers in Coffee and Tea can poſſibly have; and therefore they have as good Reaſon to apply to Parliament for Relief. Have not the Maſters, Brewers, Soap-boilers, and a great many others, as good a Title to all the Liberties and Privileges of Engliſhmen, as the Dealers in Coffee and Tea, or any other Subjects? And the Reaſon for diſtinguiſhing both from the reſt of their Countrymen is, becauſe the publick Utility and the Nature of their Buſineſs, make it abſolutely neceſſary to do ſo: If we then take the Caſe of the Petitioners into our Conſideration, can we expect but all the other Sorts of Traders, who are, or imagine themſelves in the ſame Circumſtances, will not apply to us for Relief? And will it be conſiſtent with the Juſtice of Parliament, not to take their Caſes under our Conſideration, as well as the Caſe of the Petitioners? Thus ſhall we open a Door for a great deal more Buſineſs, than we ſhall have Time to diſpatch in this Seſſion or in this Parliament. In the preſent Caſe, Gentlemen ought to conſider, that the Duties upon Coffee and Tea are appropriated to the Payment of the publick Debts; and therefore, before we attempt any Alteration, as to the Method of collecting it, or any Thing that may poſſibly diminiſh it, we ought to have the Conſent of thoſe who are intereſted therein,

therein; and in caſe of a Diminution we ought to be well aſſured of the Means to make it up in another Way. I have always had, and ſhall have as great a Regard to the Intereſt of the Subject, as any Member of this Houſe; and I do not doubt but the honourable Gentleman who ſpoke laſt has the ſame: But I never could think the taking Care of the Subject, and of the publick Revenue, were diſtinct Conſiderations; they are certainly the ſame, and in all our Deliberations in this Houſe we ought to have a Regard to both. I agree, that ſomething may, and ought to be done, for putting an immediate Stop to the preſent Practice of Smuggling, but I think it more conſiſtent with the Wiſdom of this Houſe, not to enter upon ſo copious a Field at the very Cloſe of a Parliament; and therefore, as one that wiſhes well to the Subject, as a Member of this Houſe, and as an honeſt Man, I ſhall give my Vote for ordering the Petition to lie on the Table.'

Anno 7. Geo. II. 1733-34.

Mr Pulteney ſpoke next in Favour of the Petition:

Sir,

'I find that all the Gentlemen, who have oppoſed this Motion now in your Hand, pretend to be of Opinion, that this is not a proper Time for going into the Committee propoſed. This was, I remember, the chief Argument made uſe of in laſt Seſſion of Parliament againſt taking this Petition into our Conſideration; then indeed they pretended, that the Petition was ſigned but by a few of the Dealers in that Commodity: But this Objection being now intirely remov'd by the Gentleman who preſented the Petition, they are obliged to have recourſe to the other Objection, which they then made uſe of. In laſt Seſſion they told us, 'This Seſſion 'is near an End, we have not Time now to enter into the 'Conſideration of the Matters complained of in the Petition, 'but next Seſſion it ſhall be done.' Now we are in the next Seſſion, and in the Beginning of the Seſſion too, they cannot tell us the Seſſion is near an End: But they ſay, 'This Seſ-'ſion will be but ſhort, and as it is ſo near the Cloſe of 'a Parliament, we cannot now enter into the Conſideration 'of this Affair, but it ſhall be done next Parliament.' What arrant Trifling is this? Can Gentlemen expect that this Houſe will be treated in ſuch a Manner? Who is the Gentleman can promiſe, that this will be done next Parliament? Can he, who fancies himſelf the greateſt Man amongſt us, be ſure of having a Seat in next Parliament? Or if he has, can he be ſure that his Power and Sway will be the ſame? But why ſhould this be but a ſhort Seſſion? There is no Neceſſity, that I know of, for putting an End to the Seſſion ſo ſoon; if there is, why did they not call us ſooner? Thoſe in the Adminiſtration have the ſole Adviſing of his Majeſty, and it

Mr Pulteney.

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lies wholly in his Breaſt when to call us together, as well as when to put an End to the Seſſion. Shall our Trade then lie expoſed to Fraud and Smuggling? Shall our Fellow-Subjects continue to groan under Loads of Oppreſſion, only becauſe they are reſolved this Seſſion ſhall be a ſhort One? The honourable Gentleman, who ſpoke laſt, ſeemed to think that this Petition was preſented with a View only, as he ſaid, to revive the Clamours, and renew the Diſturbances that were laſt Year without Doors. This I am ſurpriz'd at! Shall our oppreſſed Countrymen be accuſed of having a Deſign to raiſe Diſturbances, when they complain to Parliament of the Grievances they labour under? Shall thoſe who ſue to us in the moſt humble Manner, and pray that we would take their Caſe into Conſideration, and give them ſome Relief if poſſible, be deemed ſeditious? No, they cannot be ſo much as ſuſpected of having any ſuch Deſign; but if the preſent Motion be rejected, it will, and it ought to revive thoſe Clamours, and renew thoſe Diſturbances, which were laſt Year moſt juſtly raiſed over the whole Kingdom, by a moſt wicked Scheme which was propoſed in this Houſe: The Nation will from thence moſt juſtly conclude, that the Scheme then ſet on Foot is not yet laid aſide; they will have Reaſon to fear, that an honourable Gentleman may perhaps be able to perſuade Gentlemen, at the Beginning of a Seven Year's Parliament, to agree to that wicked Scheme, which he could not perſuade them to agree to immediately before a new Election. If our Fellow-Subjects were intirely relieved from the Oppreſſion of Exciſe-Laws, it might not perhaps be ſo eaſy to ſaddle us with them again; but the Gentleman is reſolved to preſerve this as a Neſt-Egg, as a Foundation to build on, whenſoever he has a Mind to take up again his favourite Scheme. Gentlemen ſeem to be in a Fright, as if the publick Revenue were to be diminiſhed or taken away; but I am convinced their Fears are groundleſs: All that is deſired is, that we would go into a Committee, that we would take the Affair once ſeriouſly into our Conſideration, to ſee if any Thing can be done more effectually to ſecure the publick Revenue than it is at preſent, and at the ſame time to grant ſome Relief to thoſe who petition for it, and have a Right to expect it. This will give us a Title to return to our Conſtituents with ſome Confidence; and I can ſee no Reaſon why we ſhould leave to any future Parliament the Honour of doing a Work, which will be of ſuch ſignal Service to their Country and to their Fellow-Subjects: The Grievance now complained of was, without doubt, the Foundation of that wicked Scheme which we had laſt Year before us; and I am convinced, no Gentleman who had the Honour of oppoſing that Scheme, will

agree

agree to the rejecting of the preſent Motion; otherwiſe the Houſe muſt be much changed from what it was when an honourable Gentleman, on ſeeing the Minority daily increaſe, and the Majority ſicken away, was at laſt forc'd, almoſt with Tears in his Eyes, to give up his favourite Child, of whom he ſeemed to have a moſt extraordinary Opinion, when he ſaid, 'That Gentlemen, who envied him 'other Things, would ſome Day or other envy him the 'Honour of that Project.' I am perſuaded he ſtill entertains the ſame good Opinion of it, and waits only for a proper Opportunity to renew it; for which Reaſon he is unwilling that we ſhould go into ſuch a Committee as is now propoſed, leſt we ſhould ſap all the Foundations of any future Project for a farther Extenſion of the Exciſe-Laws.' Anno 7. Geo. II. 1733-34.

To this Sir Robert Walpole replied.

Sir,

'If I were to follow the Gentleman, who ſpoke laſt, in all he has ſaid, I muſt intirely neglect the Queſtion before us; but of late it has become ſo faſhionable for Gentlemen to run away from the Queſtion, and ſay every Thing their Fancies ſuggeſt to them, that it is impoſſible to give them any Anſwer, and keep to the Order of Debate. I cannot comprehend how I come to be any way perſonally concerned in the preſent Queſtion, yet moſt of what the Gentleman ſaid ſeemed in a particular Manner to be directed at me, which indeed is a Subject I always ſpeak to with the greateſt Unwillingneſs, as it is very little worthy the Attention of this Houſe. As to thoſe Clamours which were lately, or have at any other Time been raiſed without Doors, I know that all the means human Induſtry was capable of, have been employed to raiſe Clamour againſt me in all Parts of the Kingdom; but it is my Happineſs, that after ten Years Endeavours for that Purpoſe, no Objection could ever be made to my Conduct, except what proceeded from ſomething I had propoſed or moved for in this Houſe. I am not conſcious to myſelf that I ever propoſed any Thing in this Houſe, but what I thought conſiſtent with my Duty, as a Member of this Houſe, as a good Subject, and as a Servant to the Crown; and in ſuch Caſe, Gentlemen may talk of the Privileges of Parliament, and of the Freedom of Debate in this Houſe, but if what a Man ſays is to be miſrepreſented, and Clamours raiſed againſt him without Doors, for what he honeſtly and fairly propoſes, or gives as his Opinion in this Houſe, I muſt leave to the Houſe to judge, what their Privileges may in Time come to. As to the wicked Scheme, as the Gentleman was pleaſed to call it, which he would perſuade Gentlemen, is not yet laid aſide, I, for my own Part, can aſſure this Houſe, I am not ſo mad as ever again Sir R. Walpole

to

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to engage in any Thing that looks like an Exciſe, tho' in my own private Opinion I ſtill think it was a Scheme, that would have tended very much to the Intereſt of the Nation, and I am convinced that all the Clamours without Doors, and a great Part of the Oppoſition it met with every where, was founded upon artful Falſhoods, Miſrepreſentations, and Inſinuations that ſuch Things were intended, as had never entered into the Thoughts of any Man I am acquainted with.

I will now try, if I may be allow'd to ſpeak a few Words to the Queſtion now before us, but muſt firſt take Notice, that I do not remember any Promiſe made laſt Seſſion, that this Petition ſhould be taken into Conſideration in this Seſſion; nor do I know any Perſon that could make ſuch Promiſe, or that can now ſay it ſhall be conſider'd of next Seſſion. I am ſure I never made any ſuch Promiſe; but I believe any Gentleman may ſay, that the next Parliament may, if they pleaſe, take the Affair into their Conſideration; and I think it is an Affair of ſuch Conſequence, that it will be more proper to enter upon it in the Beginning of a new Parliament, than at the very Cloſe of an old one. It has been pretended, that the Alteration made ſome Years ago, as to the Method of collecting the Duties on Tea, has not prevented the running of that Commodity, nor increaſed the Revenue in Proportion to the Increaſe of the Conſumption; to prove this, Gentlemen have been pleaſed to make Computations, but, as was before obſerved, they took a very unfair Method. As to the Running of Tea, the Alteration made has not indeed entirely prevented it, but I am ſure it has made Running a great deal more expenſive and dangerous; therefore one may with a great deal of Probability conclude, that no ſuch large Quantities of Tea have been run ſince the late Alteration was made, as there were before that Time; or at leaſt it may be ſaid, that as all Sorts of Teas are now ſold much cheaper abroad than they were formerly, and all our Smugglers are become more cunning, and more bold and deſperate, a great deal more of that Commodity would have been run in upon us, if that Alteration in collecting the Duty had not been ſeaſonably made. As to the Increaſe of the publick Revenue, if Gentlemen will take that Branch of it at a Medium for ſeven Years before and ſeven Years after the Alteration, I believe it would be found to have been a growing Revenue from that Time 'till the Year 1729, when indeed it began to decreaſe; but that was not owing to the new Arts found out by the Smugglers, but to the Increaſe of their Profits by Smuggling; for in that Year the Dutch had four Ships at China, and the French had four more, by which they imported ſo great Quantities of Tea, and were obliged to ſell it ſo cheap, that they not only

ly ſupplied thoſe Places we formerly uſed to ſupply, but greater Quantities of it were run in upon us, becauſe the Increaſe of the Difference between the Price of that Commodity Abroad and the Price here, conſiderably increaſed the Profits to be got by Running, which made the old Smugglers run greater Risks, and engaged a great many new Adventurers in that pernicious Trade; and this is the true Cauſe why that Branch of our publick Revenue began then to decreaſe; but if the former Method of collecting that Duty had been then in uſe, it would have decreaſed much more conſiderably; nay, I do not know but it might have almoſt intirely vaniſhed. Another Miſtake which Gentlemen have fallen into is, they have, as to the Produce of this Branch of the Revenue for laſt Year, forgot to make any Allowances for the large Quantities now in the Warehouſes of the Eaſt-India Company, which muſt all pay Duty before it can be removed in order to be ſold for Home-Conſumption; ſo that to pick out any one Year for determining the Amount of that Part of the publick Revenue, is a very fallacious Way of computing, becauſe it intirely depends upon the Sales which the Eaſt-India Company are pleaſed to make, and not upon the Quantity that is conſumed within the Kingdom for that Year, and yet Gentlemen have been ſo candid, as to pick out this laſt Year, when the Produce was leſs than it has been in any one Year ſince the Alteration was made, in order to compare it with the Year immediately preceeding the Alteration, when the Produce was higher than it had ever been before; and for this plain Reaſon, becauſe, when that Alteration began to be talked of, every Body imagined, that it would inhance the Price of Tea, and therefore moſt private Families laid in great Stocks of Tea, before the Alteration took Place. When Gentlemen talk of going into Committees to conſider of taking the Duties off of any Commodity, they do not ſurely reflect, that it would be entering into an Affair which requires the moſt mature Conſideration; there are many other Duties which ought to be lowered or taken off, if it were poſſible; and if we were to go into ſuch a Committee, I do not know but it might be thought more reaſonable by many Gentlemen to take off the Duty on Soap and Candles, than to take off, or even to lower the Duty now payable upon Coffee and Tea; but theſe are Conſiderations which I cannot think proper to be entered upon in the laſt Seſſion of a Parliament; therefore I muſt be againſt the preſent Motion, whatever Uſe may be made of putting a Negative upon it: The rejecting of it may perhaps be made Uſe of by ſome Gentlemen to raiſe new Clamours, and to increaſe the Number of Cockades, with the fine Motto of *Liberty, Property, and no Exciſe*; but whatever Hopes may

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be

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be conceived from ſuch low Artifices, I entertain no Fear about them, nor ſhall they ever deter me from declaring my Sentiments freely upon any Subject that comes before this Houſe.'

Mr Speaker.

Hereupon the Speaker roſe up, and ſaid,

Gentlemen,

IT is no Buſineſs of mine to appear on either Side of the Queſtion: But it is my Duty to take Notice, when Gentlemen are diſorderly. There is nothing more irregular than for Gentlemen to be perſonal in their Debates, or to mention any Thing that has been ſaid in a former Seſſion of Parliament, or even only the very Day before.

Mr W. Pulteney.

Upon this Mr Pulteney ſtood up again, and ſaid,

Mr Speaker,

'It is certain there is nothing more irregular, than for Gentlemen to be perſonal in their Debates, or to mention any thing that has been ſaid by any particular Gentleman in a former Debate; but if I am the Perſon meant, I cannot think I have been guilty of any of theſe Irregularities: I have ſaid nothing but what related ſome way to the Queſtion in Hand, or in anſwer to what had been ſaid by ſome of the Gentlemen who ſpoke before me. But now I'm up, I'll juſt mention one Thing, with the Indulgence of this Houſe, which the honourable Gentleman who ſpoke laſt ſeems to miſtake; he ſeemed to me to talk as if Gentlemen meant to take off the Duty on Tea: No Body, I believe, has ſpoke of taking off that Duty; but if the Duty be too high, or laid on in a wrong Manner, if we go into a Committee on that Affair, I doubt not but ſomething may be propoſed for ſecuring the Duty to the Publick more effectually than at preſent; and for levying it in a Way which may be more convenient and agreeable to the Subject. We may remember what was the Caſe of the Duty upon Pepper; that Duty was found by Experience to be too high; it was lower'd, and even by the lowering of it, the Revenue came to be a conſiderable Gainer. This may be found to be the Caſe, with reſpect to Tea, but this we cannot judge of till we go into a Committee upon it, and have all Papers proper for our Inſtruction laid before us.'

Sir J. Barnard.

Sir John Barnard ſpoke next,

Sir,

'The honourable Gentleman over the Way has endeavoured to prove by Argument, the contrary of what is known to be true in Fact. He granted, indeed, that the ſubjecting of Tea to the Laws of Exciſe has not intirely prevented the Running that Commodity; but then he ſaid, if

if it had not been ſubjected to the Laws of Exciſe, much greater Quantities would have been run, becauſe of the great Difference that there has lately been in the Price of Tea Abroad, and the Price of it in this Kingdom: Now, I cannot believe there is, or has lately been, ſo great a Difference between the Price of Tea in foreign Parts, and the Price at our Eaſt-India Sales; for it is certain that our Eaſt-India Company muſt and ought to regulate their Price according to the Price it bears in foreign Markets: They certainly buy it as cheap in China as any other Company can do, and it coſts them no more to bring it Home, therefore they ought to ſell as cheap as any Company does, otherwiſe they cannot pretend to ſell any of their Tea in a foreign Market; and it is to be hoped, they do not make uſe of their excluſive Privilege, to lay a Tax upon this Nation, by making us pay dearer for their Tea than we can purchaſe it from others: This indeed would give an Encouragement to Smuggling, but this would be owing intirely to their making a bad Uſe of their excluſive Charter. For this Reaſon it is to be preſumed, that in the Year 1729, when the Price of that Commodity fell ſo much Abroad, it fell a great deal likewiſe at our Eaſt-India Sales here; and therefore that Difference, which the Gentleman built ſo much on, cannot be the real Cauſe of the Decreaſe of that Branch of our Revenue ſince that Time; but this is a Fact which we ought to inquire into, and a ſtrong Reaſon for our going into the Committee I have propoſed.

'Tis true, the Laws of Exciſe do not contribute any thing to the Encouragement of Running; this is what no Gentleman has aſſerted, but I am convinc'd they have contributed nothing to the preventing of Running; and I am ſure, if it does not appear, that they have contributed very remarkably to the preventing of that infamous Practice, we ought not to leave ſuch a Number of our Fellow-Subjects, even for the Space of one Year, under the Burthen of ſuch oppreſſive Laws, otherwiſe it cannot be ſaid, that we have that Regard to the Eaſe of the People, which a Britiſh Parliament ought to have, and I hope will have. The Gentleman found Fault with the Computations made, but let him make his Computations what way he will, I believe it will be found, that the Increaſe of the publick Revenue has bore no Proportion to the Increaſe of the Conſumption; and this laſt Increaſe, which muſt be acknowledged by every Man, is a good Reaſon why the Rule, which the Gentleman propoſes for diſcovering whether the Revenue has been a Gainer by ſubjecting Tea and Coffee to the Laws of Exciſe, ought not to be obſerved; for if the Conſumption gradually increas'd for ſeven Years before, and ſeven Years

Anno 7. Geo. II. 1733-34.

after the Alteration in collecting the Duty on thoſe Commodities, the Medium for the ſeven Years after, muſt be much higher than for ſeven Years before, and yet the Increaſe of the publick Revenue cannot be ſaid to be owing to the Laws of Exciſe, but to the Increaſe of the Conſumption. As to the great Quantities of Tea now in the Warehouſes of the Eaſt-India Company, and the larger Quantities pretended to be bought up juſt before the Alteration took Place, it is certain the Company generally have large Quantities in their Warehouſes, and ſell them off according to the Demand, which, as to our Home-Conſumption, muſt be pretty near equal one Year with another; ſo that if they have greater Quantities now than uſual, it muſt be becauſe of the little Demand there is for their Tea at foreign Markets; but whatever they ſell for that Purpoſe pays no Duty, therefore it cannot be ſaid, that the Quantities they have upon their Hands muſt all pay the Duty, or that a Variation in their Sales can ever much alter the Amount of that Branch of the Revenue. Whether large Quantities of Tea were bought up juſt before the Alteration took Place, is what I ſhall not now pretend to determine; but if we go into a Committee on this Affair, the Accounts of Sales, and the Accounts of Tea exported in that Year may be called for, and from them that Matter will appear; ſo that every Fact the honourable Gentleman has been pleaſed to mention, is a ſtrong Argument for our going into a Committee upon this Affair.

'I find no Fault with the Duty on Tea being ſo high, I wiſh it were higher than it is, if it were poſſible to collect it, becauſe I look upon it as an Article of Luxury; therefore, if the Duty on ſome Sorts of Tea were raiſed, and if all the Tea that ſhall hereafter be ſeiz'd, was to be burnt and deſtroy'd, I believe it would be much better for the Nation: And this is an Anſwer to what an honourable Gentleman ſaid, That we ought not to go into a Committee, unleſs we are well aſſured, ſome Gentleman has ſomething to propoſe; tho' I do not allow his Rule to be good, becauſe, when a Committee is reſolved on, and proper Papers called for, Gentlemen may from them find ſomething very reaſonable to propoſe to the Committee, which they could not before think of: But in the preſent Caſe, this Argument is of no Weight, for beſides that already mentioned, I could hint at ſeveral other Propoſitions which may be thought reaſonable. We are certainly in a wrong Method at preſent, with reſpect to our Duties upon Tea: There is a very great Difference in the Price of different Sorts of Tea, and yet our Duty is upon all Sorts of Tea the ſame; Tea of 2 s. *per* Pound, pays as much Duty as Tea of 20 s.

per

per Pound; and therefore, in my Opinion, if the Duty were laid on *ad Valorem*, neither the publick Revenue, nor the East-India Company would ſuffer ſo much by the large Quantities of low prized Tea, run in upon us from Holland and Flanders. In Caſes where the Duty far exceeds the prime Coſt of the Commodity, there is a very great Temptation for Smuggling: A Man has more Profit when he gets two hundred *per Cent.* on the Money he lays out, than when he gets but one, or perhaps but 50 *per Cent.* and this will encourage him to run a greater Riſk, and will engage more Perſons to become Adventurers. Upon this Conſideration it muſt be granted, that the Lowneſs of the Price of ſome Sorts of Tea Abroad, may of late have contributed a little to the Increaſe of Smuggling; but no Laws can in ſuch Caſe prevent the Practice; for where there is an exceſſive Advantage to be got by a Man's being lucky, no Riſk can prevent his endeavouring to graſp at it, nor will the Misfortunes of ſome frighten others from becoming Adventurers: This is the Nature of Mankind, therefore it is vain to imagine, that the joining of the Laws of Exciſe to thoſe of the Cuſtoms will prevent the Running of Tea, as long as the Advantage to be got by it continues ſo extraordinary. Anno 7. Geo. II. 1733-34.

'Tho' every Man ſubject to the Laws of Exciſe is as liable to Hardſhips as another, yet there is a very great Difference between the Exciſe upon Tea, Coffee, and Chocolate, and the Exciſe upon any other Commodity. By all our other Exciſes, except Brandy, but a few People, none but the firſt Manufacturers are made ſubject to the Laws of Exciſe, and by moſt of them, there is a very great Addition made to the publick Revenue; but as to the Exciſe upon Tea, Coffee, and Chocolate, there is little Advantage got to the Publick by that Method, yet by that Exciſe there are more People, I believe, made ſubject to thoſe oppreſſive Laws than by all the other Exciſes. And ſurely, when we are to ſubject any of our Fellow-Subjects to oppreſſive Laws, we ought to conſider their Number, and the Benefit which the Publick reaps thereby, in order to compare the two together, and from thence determine, whether the Advantage got by the Publick bears ſuch a Proportion, as may juſtify the laying ſo many of our Countrymen under great Inconveniencies: This ſhews that the giving Ear to the juſt Complaints of the Petitioners, lays us under no Neceſſity of taking the Caſe of any other Set of Men under our Conſideration.

'As to the Conſent of thoſe, who have an Intereſt in the Duty upon Coffee, Tea, and Chocolate, I believe we need give ourſelves no Trouble upon that Head; for as they are certain, that the Parliament will not allow them to be Sufferers, they will, as ſoon as aſked, readily conſent to any

Anno 7. Geo. II. 1733-34.

Alteration we ſhall make, eſpecially when it is for freeing ſuch a conſiderable Number of their Fellow-Countrymen from great Hardſhips; but it will be Time enough to think of this after we have come to the Reſolution of going into a Committee upon this Affair; therefore that Argument can be of no Manner of Weight againſt the Queſtion.'

Mr J. Cockburn.

Mr John Cockburn ſpoke next.

Sir,

'In our preſent Situation, I would be very far from agreeing to any Thing that could poſſibly diminiſh the publick Revenue; but I am certain the Revenue can be in no Danger by our agreeing to the preſent Motion; for when we are in the Committee propoſed, if any ſuch Thing ſhould be offer'd, Gentlemen may freely give their Negative to it, notwithſtanding their having given their Conſent for going into a Committee. I muſt ſay, I have not heard much Argument made uſe of by the Gentlemen who have oppoſed this Motion: The whole of what they have ſaid reſolves in this, that the Time is improper, becauſe the Seſſion is to be but ſhort; ſo that the true Queſtion now before us, is, Shall we allow ſo many of our Fellow-Subjects to labour under what they apprehend to be a Grievance, without making the leaſt Inquiry into their Complaints? Or ſhall we ſit three or four Days longer than ſome Gentlemen intend we ſhould? As this ſeems the only Queſtion before us, it is eaſy for any Gentleman to determine, which Side he ought to take; I ſhall moſt certainly be for going into the Committee moved for.'

Mr Joſ. Danvers.

After him Mr Joſeph Danvers ſaid,

Sir,

'I am ſo far from being for the Queſtion before us, that I think this Houſe ſhews a great deal of good Nature, in allowing the Petition to lie upon the Table; for, in my Opinion, it ought to be rejected. I ſhall, indeed, readily be for any Thing that may diſcourage not only the Running, but the Importation of Coffee, Tea, or Chocolate; for I wiſh we would or could be made all to return to the good old Way of our Anceſtors, in breakfaſting upon good Engliſh Ale and Bread and Cheeſe. Both the Men and Women of thoſe Days were, I believe, as ſtrong and as healthy as they are now, and yet what they made uſe of for Breakfaſt, did not carry one Penny out of the Nation: However, I think we may find out a much properer Time for inquiring into this Affair, than the very laſt Seſſion of a Parliament, and a Seſſion which muſt be taken up in conſidering Things of much greater Conſequence, not only to this Nation, but to Europe in general. An honourable Gentleman talked much of a Scheme, which was before us laſt Year, which he was pleaſed

pleaſed to call a wicked Scheme; but I differ ſo far from him, that I think the Gentlemen concerned in the Adminiſtration never did a Thing ſo wrong, as the giving up that Scheme: I then thought, and ſtill think, it would have been very much for the Intereſt of the Nation, and I am ſure that it might have been carried, if thoſe Gentlemen had not of themſelves let it drop.'

The Druggiſt's Petition drop'd.

Then the Queſtion being put, for referring the ſaid Petition to a Committee of the whole Houſe, it was carry'd in the Negative by 233 againſt 155.

A Bill againſt Stock-jobbing read the firſt Time.

February 5. Sir John Ruſhout preſented to the Houſe, according to Order, a Bill to prevent the infamous Practice of Stock-jobbing, which was receiv'd, and read the firſt Time, and order'd to be read a ſecond Time.

Feb. 6. The Houſe reſolv'd itſelf into a Committee of the whole Houſe, to conſider of the Supply, and the proper Eſtimates being referr'd to that Committee, Mr Andrews, * ſtood up and ſpoke as follows:

Sir,

Debate concerning the Land-Forces.

Mr Andrews.

'By the Employment I have the Houour to be in, it naturally falls within my Province, to take Notice of the Eſtimates which have been laid before us, relating to the Charge of the Guards, Garriſons, and other his Majeſty's Land-Forces in Great Britain, in the Plantations, and in Minorca and Gibraltar, for the Year enſuing: By theſe Eſtimates Gentlemen will find, that the Charge for next Year does but very little exceed that for laſt Year; and therefore, conſidering the preſent State of Affairs in Europe, which muſt be known to every Gentleman in this Houſe, I think it would be but miſpending the Time of the Committee, to ſay any Thing with relation to the Queſtion I have now in my Hand to move to you.

'The Difference between the Situation this Nation is in now, and the Situation it was in laſt Year, ſufficiently juſtifies the ſmall Addition that is propoſed to be made to our Land-Forces; the Addition propoſed is no more than 1800 Men, and even this Addition is propoſed to be made in the eaſieſt and leaſt expenſive Way: We have now three Regiments at Gibraltar, which have always hitherto been placed on the Britiſh Eſtabliſhment, becauſe, tho' they were ſent there upon an Emergency, it was never before thought neceſſary to continue them there; but ſince a War is broke out in Europe, it cannot be thought ſafe to recall them, and therefore in their Place it is propoſed to add 1800 Men to the Regiments we have now at home, and to place them for the future on the Eſtabliſhment for Minorca and Gibraltar. This, in my Opinion, is ſo reaſonable and ſo neceſſary a Demand,

* *Deputy-Paymaſter of the Army.*

Anno 7. Geo. II. 1733-34.

Demand, that I ſhall give the Committee no farther Trouble, but beg Leave to move, That the Number of effective Men to be provided for Guards and Garriſons in Great Britain, and for Guernſey and Jerſey, for the Year 1734, be, including 1815 Invalids, and 555, which the ſix independent Companies conſiſt of for the Service of the Highlands, 17,704 Men, Commiſſion and Non-Commiſſion Officers included.'

Sir W. Wyndham.

Hereupon Sir William Wyndham ſpoke as follows:

Sir,

'I do not ſtand up to oppoſe the Motion made by the honourable Gentleman over the Way; for as the Motion ſtands, the Number of Forces propoſed to be kept up for next Year is, I find, no greater than that which was kept up for laſt Year, and, according to our preſent Situation, I do believe the keeping up the ſame Number of Forces will not be thought very extravagant; but by what the Gentleman was pleaſed to ſay, there ſeems to be an Augmentation deſign'd; I ſhall therefore beg Leave to propoſe an Amendment to this Queſtion, becauſe, as to our own particular Situation, we are ſtill left in the Dark.

'There is no Gentleman in this Houſe, who can agree to any Demand that comes from the Crown more chearfully than I ſhall, when I ſee any Reaſon or Neceſſity for ſuch a Demand: But when any Augmentation of our Forces, either by Sea or Land, is demanded, when any additional Load is deſired to be laid upon the People, while I have the Honour to be one of the Repreſentatives of the People, I ſhall always expect to have ſufficient Reaſons ſhewn me, before I give my Conſent for complying with any ſuch Demand; and therefore, upon every ſuch Occaſion, I think a full Information ought to be given touching the Situation of our Affairs, that we may from thence judge, whether we ought to conſent to what is propoſed: Nay, though no Augmentation had been aſked, if nothing more were to be aſked, but to keep up for next Year the ſame Number that was kept up laſt Year; yet, as it is a heavy Charge upon the People, and cannot ſurely be always neceſſary, the Conſent of Parliament ought not to be expected, without giving us ſome good Reaſons for it.

'For this Reaſon, I hope, that ſome Gentlemen who can inform us, will riſe up and let us know ſomething of our preſent Circumſtances: It is high Time we ſhould know, not only our preſent Situation but likewiſe, what Share we are to take, or if we are to take any, in the War now begun in Europe: It is chiefly with this View, that I am to offer an Amendment to the Queſtion: My principal Deſign

ſign in it is, that ſome Gentleman may riſe up, and give me ſome Argument, afford me ſome Excuſe, for my conſenting to lay a new Load upon a People whom I know to be already moſt heavily loaded. I know, Sir, we are in a Committee, and therefore I may be indulged in ſpeaking more than once, for which Reaſon I ſhall now add no more, but only move, that the Words, *And including the three Regiments of Tyrawley, Grove, and Kirk*, may be added by way of Amendment to the Queſtion.'

He was oppos'd by Mr Henry Pelham: Mr H. Pelham.

Sir,

'My Opinion is the ſame with that of the honourable Gentleman who made you this Motion; the Augmentation propoſed is, I think, ſo very ſmall, the Manner of doing it ſo eaſy, and ſo little expenſive, and the Neceſſity of doing it ſo evident and apparent, that I did not expect that either I or any Gentleman elſe ſhould have been under a Neceſſity of ſtanding up to ſay any Thing in Support of the Motion. The honourable Gentleman, who ſpoke laſt, has propoſed an Amendment, and wants much, it ſeems, to be inform'd of our preſent Situation, and hopes that ſome Gentlemen will ſtand up and ſatisfy him: I do not take upon me to ſpeak as a Perſon any way concern'd in the Adminiſtration, I ſpeak only as a Member of this Houſe, and, as ſuch, I want no farther Information; the Lights I have, and which every Gentleman in this Houſe muſt know, are ſufficient to enable me to give my Vote in the preſent Queſtion: If other Gentlemen, whoſe Curioſity may be greater than mine, want to know more than they yet know, I am afraid they will return from the Houſe no wiſer in that Reſpect, than when they come to it; for Gentlemen are not obliged to ſay more than what is neceſſary for their preſent Argument; nor are they bound, upon every Occaſion, to ſatisfy the private Curioſity of other Men.

'Every Gentleman muſt know the preſent Circumſtances of Affairs in Europe, and from that Conſideration alone muſt ſee the Neceſſity of the Augmentation propoſed; The three Regiments, which are at Gibraltar have been, 'till now, kept upon the Britiſh Eſtabliſhment, becauſe it was not expected, that we ſhould have been obliged to continue them there: But ſince a War is broke out in Europe, ſince our Neighbours have all great Armies in the Field and great Fleets at Sea, would any Man think it wiſe or prudent in us, to diminiſh the Strength of that Place by recalling thoſe three Regiments? Or can any Gentleman in this Houſe think, that a leſs Number of regular Troops at home is neceſſary now in the Time of War, than what was laſt Year, in the Time of Peace, thought neceſſary for the Defence

of

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of his Majeſty's Perſon and Government? Surely no Member of this Houſe can poſſibly think ſo, and therefore I cannot ſee how any Gentleman can diſagree with the Queſtion now before you; ſince all that is thereby propoſed is but a ſmall additional Expence of 34 or 35,000 l. to the Nation. It is only an Augmentation of our Forces at home, equal to, and in the room of thoſe three Regiments, which it is now become neceſſary to put upon a foreign Eſtabliſhment; for after they are once put upon that Eſtabliſhment, it is certain they cannot be called home, whatever Neceſſity we may have for them here; and, for all that has been formerly ſaid by Gentlemen about numerous Standing Armies, I know very well, that while I ſerved in another Office, we never were able to make ſuch a Diſpoſition of Quarters, as to have it in our Power to call above three or four thouſand Men together upon any Emergency. For theſe Reaſons, Sir, I cannot agree to the Amendment propoſed; on the contrary, I never was, I think, clearer in any one Queſtion I moved in this Houſe, than I am in that which you have in your Hand.'

Hereupon Mr George Heathcote ſtood up, and ſaid,

Sir,

Mr G. Heathcote.

'As the Situation of Affairs in Europe is very much altered ſince laſt Year, ſo my Opinion, with reſpect to the Army, is greatly changed. I was, 'tis true, laſt Seſſion againſt keeping up ſuch a Number of regular Troops, as the Majority of this Houſe were pleaſed to agree to; but the Reaſons which then made me vote againſt the Number propoſed, ſeem to be good Reaſons for agreeing to what is now propoſed. We were then in a State of perfect Tranquility, both at home and abroad; but now the Scene is changed, and we are in great Danger of being involved in that War, which is already broke out: Do not we ſee the King of France, who for ſome Years has been in a State of Inaction and ſeeming to mind nothing but Diverſions, now ſettling with great Application to publick Buſineſs, and following the Footſteps of his ambitious Predeceſſor? Do not we ſee, that he by his Armies, in Conjunction with thoſe of Spain and Sardinia, has in a very ſhort Time, over-run a great Part of Italy? This has given the Alarm to all the Princes of Europe, and certainly ought to give us ſome likewiſe. We are perhaps amongſt the moſt remote from Danger, but it may reach us at laſt; and in ſuch Circumſtances, I ſhould think it very unwiſe not to be upon our Guard; for which Reaſon I cannot but agree to a Demand, which in itſelf I think ſo modeſt and ſo reaſonable; and I wiſh that the preſent Queſtion had been agreed to without any Oppoſition or Debate, in order to convince the whole World that

there is a good Harmony ſubſiſting between his Majeſty and his Parliament.' Anno 7. Geo. II. 1733-34.

Sir Thomas Lumley Saunderſon ſpoke next: Sir T. Saunderſon.

Sir,

'Notwithſtanding what has been ſaid by the two honourable Gentlemen who ſpoke laſt, I am of the ſame Opinion with my honourable Friend who moved for an Amendment to the Queſtion; for unleſs we are to engage, unleſs we are to have ſome Share in the preſent War, I can ſee no Neceſſity, nor indeed any Reaſon, for the Augmentation propoſed; becauſe I am very well aſſured, none of the Powers engaged in War will attack us, if we have a mind to ſtand neutral; and if his Majeſty were reſolved to take any Share in the War, or even to give the leaſt Aſſiſtance to either of the Parties engaged, he would certainly have communicated his Reſolutions to his Parliament: Surely thoſe Gentlemen who have always thought, at leaſt of late Years, that an Army of 18,000 Men is neceſſary in Times of Peace, to ſupport his Majeſty's Government, can never think, that the Addition of 1800 will enable him to take any Share in the War, or to give Aſſiſtance to any of his Allies; from hence I muſt conclude, that his Majeſty is not to take any Share in the War, ſo that the Smallneſs of the Augmentation demanded, which they make uſe of as an Argument for prevailing with us to agree to it, is with me a very ſtrong Argument for refuſing to give my Conſent.

'But, Sir, the chief Argument with me for being againſt the preſent Queſtion is, that I am afraid leſt the Number of Forces kept up laſt Year ſhould come to be thought always neceſſary to be kept, even in Times of the moſt profound Peace and Tranquility; and indeed the Gentleman who ſpoke laſt but one ſeemed to inſinuate as much, ſo that from henceforth we may reckon an Army of 18,000 Men as a Part of our Conſtitution; and even this Army it ſeems is always to be augmented, whenever any little Quarrel happens between any two of our Neighbours, and that whether we are to have any Share in the Quarrel or not: This is the principal Reaſon, Sir, why I cannot agree to the Queſtion, as it now ſtands, and therefore I ſhall be for the Amendment propoſed.'

Mr William Pulteney then ſpoke as follows: Mr W. Pulteney.

Sir,

'The honourable Gentleman who moved the Queſtion did extreamly well in opening and explaining it to the Committee, for it is in itſelf ſo dark and intricate, that without the Explanation he was pleaſed to give us, I believe there are very few Gentlemen in the Houſe who would have underſtood it, or could have imagined, that a large Aug-

Anno 7. Geo. II. 1733-34.

mentation was thereby meant to be made to our Land-Forces in Great Britain: By the Words of the Queſtion, no greater Number of Land-Forces than what was voted laſt Year appears to be demanded, yet when it comes to be explained, we find that there is a Demand for an Augmentation of about 2000 Men: Here is an Army in Diſguiſe; it really puts me in mind of Bayes's Army in the Play, for it would have been an Army *incog.* if the Gentleman had not been pleaſed to diſcover it.

'An honourable Gentleman told us, that thoſe three Regiments now at Gibraltar, if they ſhould once be put upon that Eſtabliſhment, could not be called home, let the Occaſion for them here be never ſo preſſing; this I cannot admit, I can ſee no Impoſſibility of calling them home, tho' they ſhould be put upon that Eſtabliſhment; but, granting they were, have we not 12,000 Men in Ireland, from whence we may call home as many as we pleaſe, upon any Emergency: Has not this been done in former Times? And did not the Parliament of Great Britain willingly make up the Difference of the Pay, and all the other Charges that attended the Tranſporting of them: Beſides this, cannot we call for Troops from Holland, whenever we have Occaſion for any ſuch? Has not this likewiſe been formerly done? We know that the Dutch are by Treaties obliged to furniſh us with 10,000 Men, if we ſhould be attacked by any Power in Europe, and that at their own Expence too; tho' I believe, indeed, that we never had as yet any ſuch Aſſiſtance from them, but what the Parliament of Great Britain was obliged to pay for.

'The Gentleman ſpoke likewiſe of the Diſpoſition of Quarters, and the Difficulty of getting a Number of Men together, on any Emergency. Sir, I have had the Honour to ſerve in that Office, as well as the honourable Gentleman, and I never knew a Diſpoſition of Quarters ſo made, but that almoſt all the Troops in Great Britain could be got together by regular Marches, time enough to oppoſe any Enemy that could come againſt us, unleſs they ſhould drop from the Clouds; I cannot comprehend, from whence Gentlemen imagine that ſuch Troops ſhould be ſent againſt us: Muſt they not march, from their ſeveral Quarters, to the Sea-Coaſt of that Country from whence they are to come? Muſt they not have a Fleet of Ships to tranſport them, and a fair Wind to bring them to this Iſland? Will not all this take up Time, and that enough to give us an Opportunity of aſſembling our Forces? This, really, Sir, to me ſeems to be raiſing Fantaſms in the Air, in order to find Pretences for loading the People of England with Taxes.

'The

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'The Amendment propoſed was not, I believe, meant by the honourable Gentleman who mov'd it, ſo much to be inſiſted on, as to oblige thoſe Gentlemen, who deſired us to conſent to this Augmentation, to ſhew us ſome Reaſon for ſo doing; and with this View I muſt join with him, and will be for the Amendment, 'till I hear ſome Reaſon given for the Augmentation: If thoſe Gentlemen will vouchſafe to ſhew us any Reaſons for what they ask, and thoſe Reaſons ſhall appear to be ſufficient, I make no Doubt but that my worthy Friend will be ready to drop the Amendment he has propoſed; and, 'till ſome Reaſon is offered to us, I think I have no Occaſion to ſay any thing more upon this Subject. When they have ſhewn us their Reaſons for making the Augmentation, I ſhall either agree with them, or I ſhall endeavour to ſhew why I do not think the Reaſons they have offered ſufficient.'

Mr H. Pelham.

Hereupon Mr Pelham ſtood up again, and explained what he had before ſaid, with reſpect to the calling home the Regiments from Gibraltar, and with reſpect to the Diſpoſition of Quarters.

This done, Mr Walter Plumer ſaid,

Sir,

Mr W. Plumer.

'I cannot but think that it is highly reaſonable, for Gentlemen to expect a little more Satisfaction than what they have yet got, as to the Neceſſity for this Augmentation before they agree to it: This Houſe has always been ſaid to hold the Purſe of the People; but if we ſhould agree to any Tax or Meaſure, which may oblige us to load the People with Taxes, without the leaſt Reaſon aſſigned, we could not juſtly be ſaid to be Maſters of the Purſe of the People; we could be only the Slaves who carry it, in order to open it as often, and as wide as our Maſters ſhall pleaſe to demand. From all that has been ſaid, I cannot ſee, that we are in any immediate Danger either at Home or Abroad; and I am afraid, that the putting of thoſe three Regiments upon the Eſtabliſhment of Gibraltar, may be done with a View to make the People of this Nation feel the Expence of that Place, in order to make them ſick of it, and ſo to induce them the more eaſily to agree to the delivering it up.'

Then Mr Digby ſpoke as follows.

Sir,

Mr E. Digby.

'The Number of Land-Forces now propoſed to be added to the Number voted laſt Year, I muſt own to be but very inconſiderable: But as the Number voted laſt Year was by many thouſands more than I thought neceſſary, I muſt now look upon all thoſe thouſands, as an Addition made this Year to the Number of our Land-Forces; and as that Addition is much larger than I can judge to be neceſſary, from all

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that I have heard from thoſe Gentlemen who are ſo fond of increaſing our Army, I cannot but be againſt any new Levies.

Gentlemen tell us, 'That the Expence of the Augmentation propoſed will be no more than 34 or 35,000l.' But to this I muſt add the Expence of thoſe many thouſands, which laſt Year I thought very unneceſſary to be kept up, and in this Light the additional Expence of our Army for this Year will amount almoſt to hundreds of thouſands: Beſides, thoſe Gentlemen ſeem to forget, that every Man added to the Army is a Man taken from the Labour and Induſtry of their Country; and with this View the real Loſs to the Nation will amount to double that Sum. Do they think that the Labour of a working Man is to be valued at nothing? I believe at the moſt modeſt Computation, the Labour of every working Man in the Kingdom, one with another, brings in 20l. to his Country: It is by the Labour and Induſtry of ſuch Men, that the Trade, and conſequently the Riches and the Power of this Nation is ſupported; therefore the taking any ſuch Man from his Labour, muſt be doing a real Injury to his Country.

'What was mentioned by an honourable Gentleman affords me a moſt melancholy Conſideration: He was afraid leſt an Army of at leaſt 18,000 Men ſhould come to be made a Part of our Conſtitution; I am of Opinion, that the Gentleman's Fears are by much too well founded; for there are ſo many Gentlemen, who ſeem to look upon an Army of 18,000 Men as always neceſſary for the Support of our Government; that tho' we have for ſome Years paſt been in a State of the moſt profound Peace, we have never been able to reduce our Army below that Number; but, as that Number is not neceſſary in Time of Peace; as I think it is ſufficient, even tho' we were in ſome little Danger of a War, I cannot agree to any Augmentation, unleſs I ſee ſome greater Neceſſity for it than has been yet ſhewn.'

Then Sir William Wyndham ſtood up again, and ſaid,

Sir,

Sir W. Wyndham.

'My honourable Friend has done me Juſtice, in ſaying, the Amendment, I moved for, was principally with a View of having a little Information from ſome Gentleman in the Adminiſtration, as to our preſent Situation, in order that I may from thence be able to judge of the Neceſſity of complying with the Demand made by the Crown: This is, I think, no more than what the Parliament ought to deſire, and certainly has a Right to expect; and therefore I cannot even yet think, but that ſome Gentleman, who is qualified for that Purpoſe, will give us at leaſt as much Information about our preſent Circumſtances, as may enable us to give

ſome

ſome Reaſon for our conſenting to the Augmentation now demanded.' Anno 7. Geo. II. 1733-34.

Upon this, Sir Robert Walpole roſe up and ſpoke as follows.

Sir,

'Tho' I had reſolved to ſit ſtill and ſay nothing in the preſent Debate, yet, as I believe myſelf pointed at by the honourable Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, when I find myſelf ſo often called upon, I cannot forbear giving ſome Anſwer to what Gentlemen have been pleaſed to ſay againſt the ſmall Augmentation of our Forces, which has been propoſed. As to the Information which Gentlemen are ſo fond of having, I do not really know what they mean by it, or what they want to be informed about: It is publickly known, that there is a War now broke out in Europe, even his Majeſty in his Speech has taken Notice of it, and in the ſame Speech his Majeſty has been pleaſed to declare to us, that he is yet no Way engaged in the War, nor would determine himſelf 'till he had examined the ſeveral Facts alledged by both Parties: This, Sir, is a Deliberation conſiſtent with the Wiſdom of his Majeſty's Councils, and from thence we may be aſſured, that we are not as yet any Way concerned in the preſent War; we may, 'tis true, be concerned relatively and conſequentially; but, from what his Majeſty himſelf has told us, we muſt conclude that we are under no preſent Engagements; and therefore I muſt think it ſtrange in Gentlemen to expect or deſire any Declaration from his Majeſty, or thoſe who have the Honour to ſerve him, before any Reſolution has been taken, nay, even before his Majeſty could poſſibly have an Opportunity to inquire into thoſe Facts, which, he has told us, he will thoroughly examine before he determines what to do. Sir R. Walpole.

'But as it is a Matter of the utmoſt Conſequence to all the Powers engaged in the War, to know what Part Great Britain is to take, or whether or no we are to take any Part in the preſent War; we may conclude, that they are all extremely anxious about knowing what we are to do. And ſurely, if there is any Power in Europe, who may in the Event become the Enemy of Great Britain, particularly intereſted in, and therefore anxious to know the Reſult of our Deliberations, it would be a very good Reaſon, if there were no other, why Gentlemen ought not to expect the Satisfaction they ſeem ſo earneſtly to deſire, eſpecially before ſo full and ſo publick an Audience: This, I ſay, would be a good Reaſon for his Majeſty not to declare his Reſolution here, even ſuppoſing he had come to a Reſolution; and 'till his Majeſty thinks fit to publiſh his Reſolutions, Gentlemen may believe, that neither I, nor any Member of this Houſe, who

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who has the Honour to ſerve the Crown, will be ready to make any Declarations in this Place, 'till we do it *ex Officio*, and by his Majeſty's Orders.

'Now, Sir, without any farther Information, let us conſider the preſent Circumſtances of Europe; we all know, and his Majeſty has told us, that a War is broke out in Europe; we are not immediately concerned in this War; but as the too great Succeſs of either Side may endanger the Liberties of Europe, we are certainly concern'd in the Event; and as we are concerned in the Event, thoſe Powers, who may now, or hereafter come to think, that we are, in Intereſt or Self-Preſervation, obliged to declare againſt them, will not they, as ſoon as they begin to think ſo, endeavour to take us at a Diſadvantage, and before we are prepared for our Defence, in order to prevent our attempting to put a Stop to thoſe ambitious Views, which Succeſs may inſpire them with? Is it not therefore neceſſary for us to be upon our Guard, and to provide in Time for our own Defence? Upon this Conſideration, the Neceſſity for the Augmentation propoſed, which ſome Gentlemen pretend they cannot diſcover, is to me ſo apparent, that it ſpeaks itſelf; and the Demand is in itſelf ſo modeſt, and ſo evidently ſhews, that his Majeſty's Inclinations are to lay as few and as eaſy Burdens on his People as poſſible, that I muſt ſay, the making of any Difficulty to comply with it, does not teſtify any great Reſpect towards his Majeſty, nor a warm Affection or Zeal for his Government; and therefore I hope the Queſtion will be agreed to without any Amendment.

'As to the Inſinuations made by a worthy Gentleman over the way, that there was a Deſign to make Gibraltar appear expenſive, in order to make People ſick of it, and induce them to conſent to the giving it up, the repeating this Inſinuation is, I think, a ſufficient Anſwer to it; for to ſay that the Miniſtry, by adding three Regiments to the Defence of Gibraltar, are in a Plot to deliver it up, has ſomething ſo ridiculous in it, that I am ſurprized it ſhould drop from that honourable Gentleman; but I am perſuaded he did not mean to be ſerious when he made that Inſinuation, and therefore I ſhall take no farther Notice of it.'

Mr W. Pulteney.

Hereupon Mr William Pulteney replied:

Sir,

'I believe moſt Gentlemen, as well as myſelf, whoſe Expectations were raiſed when the honourable Gentleman ſtood up, have met with a very great Diſappointment: That Gentleman, from whom we had Reaſon to expect ſomething that would have been of Weight in the preſent Debate, has not only told us, that we are to have no Reaſon for what we are deſired this Day to agree to; but has given us very little

little Hopes of having, at any other Time, that Information, which one would think a Britiſh Parliament might expect. Are we to vote powerful Fleets, and numerous Armies; are we to lay new and great Burthens on the People, and all this without being told any Reaſons for what we are deſired to do? What Satisfaction can we give our Conſtituents, if they ſhould aſk us, why we have augmented our Standing Army, which muſt always be dangerous to the Liberties of our Country? Why we have conſented to the increaſing the publick Charge, which is already heavier than the People can bear? Really, to this moſt material and reaſonable Queſtion, I know as yet of no other Anſwer we can give, but only that his Majeſty has told us in his Speech, that there is a War broke out in Europe, in which we have no manner of Concern; and his Miniſters have told us, that we ought to be afraid of the Armies and Fleets raiſed and fitted out by our Neighbours, becauſe they are under an abſolute Neceſſity of employing all the Armies they can raiſe and all the Fleets they can fit out, in thoſe Parts of Europe which are moſt remote from us. We have Zeal, Sir, I hope we have all a great deal of Affection and Zeal for his Majeſty's Perſon and Government; but do not let us allow his Majeſty's Miniſters, or even his Majeſty himſelf, to expect ſuch a blind Zeal from his Parliament: It is inconſiſtent with the Dignity of Parliament, and I am ſure that Parliaments, thirty or forty Years ago, would hardly have been perſuaded to have ſhewn ſo much Complaiſance to the Miniſters of the Crown.

'What has been obſerved by ſome Gentlemen, I own, Sir, weighs greatly with me: From the Demand now before us we have Reaſon to conclude, that 18,000 Men may be the Number intended to be always kept up within this Iſland, even in the Times of the greateſt Peace and Tranquility; and that the Augmentation now required is done with a View only, that when ſuch Times ſhall again come, thoſe in the Adminiſtration may have an Opportunity to pretend great Merit, in reducing the 1800 Men now propoſed to be added: We all know what Jealouſies and Fears the People have entertained at the continuing of this Army, during the laſt Years of perfect Peace and Tranquility both at Home and Abroad; and if that Meaſure ſhould be again attempted when thoſe Days of Peace return, every Man muſt then conclude, that that Army is kept up, not for defending us againſt our foreign Enemies; but for the Safety of thoſe who have rendered themſelves odious among the People, and for defending them againſt the Reſentment of an injured and a plundered Nation: If this ſhould ever happen to be our unfortunate Condition, the People will certainly

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certainly make a Struggle for the Preſervation of their ancient Conſtitution: This will certainly be the Caſe; I know it muſt be the Caſe, and when it is, I hope thoſe who ſhall bring us under ſuch hard Circumſtances will find, that even this Army of 18,000 Men will not be able to ſtand againſt the whole People of England. I have a great Opinion of many Gentlemen who have now Commands in the Army, and if ſuch a Caſe ſhould happen, while they have any Command, I make no Doubt but they would behave as their Predeceſſors did at the Revolution; I dare ſay, that moſt of them would ſoon be found of the People's Side of the Queſtion.

'If we are, Sir, to have any Share in the War, the Addition of 1800 Men is but a Bauble; and if we are to have no Share, why ſhould we bring any additional Expence upon the People? The honourable Gentleman would not ſay poſitively, that we were engaged or were not engaged, or that we were or were not to be engaged, but that we might be engaged relatively and conſequentially; and this refined Quibbling, Sir, is, it ſeems, all the Satisfaction, all the Reaſons he will vouchſafe to give Gentlemen, for agreeing to the Demand now made upon them. Is an Engliſh Houſe of Commons to take this as a Reaſon for breaking in upon their Conſtitution, and for loading their Conſtituents with Taxes? Surely, Sir, let our Condition be never ſo bad, and I believe it is bad enough, if the Advice of Parliament is wanted on that Occaſion, if their Aſſiſtance be deſired, they ought to have a full Information of the preſent Circumſtances of the Nation, and they ought to have ſufficient Reaſons given for the Demand that is made. But it ſeems we are for the future to have no other Reaſon given us for complying with any Demand that comes from the Crown, but only becauſe it is aſked; and if any Gentleman ſcruples to take that as a ſufficient Reaſon, he is, it ſeems, always to be told, that his not agreeing readily to the Demand will be looked upon as a Want of Reſpect to the Crown: Let us, Sir, have all due Reſpect to the Crown, but for God's Sake let us have likewiſe ſome Regard to ourſelves and to our Fellow-Subjects, without which I am ſure we have no Buſineſs here, nor can the Nation ever reap any Benefit from our Meeting in this Place.

'The extraordinary Expence of the Augmentation now aſked for, is ſaid to be but 34 or 35,000 l. It is, at leaſt, 35,000 l. which is a Sum that may, perhaps, ſound but little in thoſe Ears which are accuſtomed to Millions, yet it is a great Sum, and will be thought ſo by the People of England, who are already over-burdened with Taxes and Impoſitions: It is an additional Expence, which no Man ought

to

to conſent to, unleſs he ſees an abſolute Neceſſity for ſo doing: The honourable Gentleman, 'tis true, ſays that the Neceſſity is apparent, and that it ſpeaks for itſelf; it is well it does ſo, for no Gentleman has as yet thought fit to ſay any Thing for it; but as I neither can ſee this apparent Neceſſity, nor hear it ſpeak for itſelf, I muſt therefore as yet be for the Amendment which has been propoſed.'

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Upon which Sir William Yonge replied:

Sir,

Sir W. Yonge.

'The Queſtion now before us is, in my Opinion, ſo reaſonable, and the additional Expence, which the honourable Gentleman, who ſpoke laſt, was pleaſed to call a great Sum, is, I think, ſo far otherwiſe, that I believe every Gentleman in this Houſe, when he heard this Motion made, was ſurprized at the Modeſty of the Demand, and could not but admire his Majeſty's Wiſdom, and the great Care he had of doing nothing that might be burdenſome to his People.

'Gentlemen may, if they will, ſhut their Eyes, and not ſee that Object which ſtands before them in the cleareſt Light; but the Neceſſity of what is now propoſed is to me as apparent as the Sun at Noon-Day. Tho' we be not as yet any way engaged in the War now carried on in Europe, yet no Man can anſwer for future Events, nor can we know what Reſolutions foreign Courts may hereafter come to: It is for this Reaſon, that we ought to be always well provided for our Defence againſt any ſudden Attempts, that may be reſolved on or made againſt us; and we certainly ought to be better provided for our Defence, when our Neighbours are at War, than when they are in a State of profound Tranquility. When they are at War, they always have Armies in the Field, and Fleets at Sea; they have many Pretences for marching their Armies wherever they have a mind, and for fitting out what Fleets, and at what Places they think proper; with ſome of theſe they may come upon us unawares, and when we think that their warlike Preparations are deſigned againſt thoſe they are actually at War with. Whereas, in time of Peace, though they have Standing Armies, yet thoſe Armies are diſperſed and in Quarters; and if any Number of them ſhould be gathered together, and prepared for an Expedition, we ſhould have a Right to demand the Reaſon for ſuch Preparations; and we could eaſily judge, whether or no they were, or could be deſigned againſt us; as to their Fleet it is the ſame, though in Time of Peace they have Ships of War, as well as other Ships, yet their Men of War are moſtly laid up in their Docks, and their other Ships employed in their proper Buſineſs; and if they ſhould begin to fit out a Fleet, and prepare for a Naval Expedition, we ſhould have a Right to demand whi-

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ther they were deſigned; and could eaſily judge, whether or no they could be intended for an Invaſion upon us; in either of which Caſes, we ſhould have Time to prepare for giving them a proper Reception: From this Conſideration it appears evident to me, that it is neceſſary for us to have both a great Fleet at Sea, and a more numerous Army at Land, when our Neighbours are engaged in War, than we have Occaſion for when they are all in a profound Peace; and I cannot but think that the Augmentation now propoſed is the leaſt that can be judged neceſſary.

As to the Conjectures, Sir, which Gentlemen have been pleaſed to throw out, of what may be intended when Peace ſhall be again reſtored to Europe, I think no Gentleman now in this Houſe is any way concerned in them, or obliged to give any Anſwer to what has been ſaid upon that Subject: If what ought to be then done be not done, let thoſe who ſhall then have the Honour to adviſe the King anſwer for it; but a Suppoſition that they will not do their Duty, can be no Reaſon for us to neglect or to refuſe doing our Duty upon the preſent Emergency. The honourable Gentleman was pleaſed to ſay, that he had heard no Body ſpeak, or give any Reaſon for the Neceſſity of the Augmentation propoſed; if it be ſo, I am ſure I have heard no Gentleman ſay any Thing againſt it, and therefore, ſince nothing has been ſaid of either Side of the Queſtion, let every Gentleman give his Vote, according to what his Thoughts may ſuggeſt to him.'

Hereupon Sir Joſeph Jekyll ſaid,

Sir,

Sir J. Jekyll.

'As I ſhall always ſhew a ready Compliance with any Demands, which his Majeſty ſhall pleaſe to make, when I ſee they are requiſite for ſupporting or defending the Honour and Intereſt of this Nation; ſo I ſhall always be extremely cautious of agreeing to any thing, that may bring new Loads upon the People, by increaſing the publick Expence, unleſs when I plainly ſee an abſolute Neceſſity for it; and therefore, Sir, I cannot, for all I have yet ſeen or heard, agree to the preſent Motion. I am not ignorant of the preſent State of Affairs abroad, but as we are not as yet any way engaged in the Quarrel, I can ſee no Danger we are in from any Power abroad, and therefore can find no Reaſon for our making any additional Proviſion for our Defence; for tho' we were really in ſome Danger, we have, in my Opinion, ſufficiently provided againſt it, by the large Armaments we have already voted for the Sea-Service, which, as it is our natural Defence, was chearfully, and, I may ſay, unanimouſly agreed to: Nay, if we were to give ſome Aſſiſtance to ſome of the Powers engaged in

the War, which no Gentleman has yet ſaid we are, it is certain that we may aſſiſt them as effectually by our Fleet as by our Land-Forces, and in ſuch Caſe I ſhould be for augmenting our Naval Force rather than our Land-Army. Anno 7. Geo. II. 1733-34.

'The honourable Gentleman, who ſpoke laſt, endeavoured to ſhew, that we ought to be better provided for our Defence, when our Neighbours are engaged in War, than when they are in a profound Peace; but in my Opinion, if we are no way engaged in the Quarrel, we have then leſs Occaſion to provide for our Defence; becauſe when our Neighbours are engaged againſt one another, they will certainly be ſo far from doing any thing that may diſoblige us, that we muſt then be courted by both Parties, if not for our Aſſiſtance, at leaſt for this, that we obſerve an exact Neutrality; and to me it really ſeems a Paradox to ſay, that any Nation in Europe will be the more ready to attack us, becauſe they are already deeply engaged againſt another Enemy. For this Reaſon I muſt conclude, that we are in no Danger of being attacked, 'till we come to a Reſolution to join one Side or other; when we have once come to ſuch a Reſolution, we ought to provide for Offence, as well as Defence, and 'till then we ought to ſave as much as poſſible, that we may be able to execute our Reſolution, when taken, with the more Vigour.

'Gentlemen talk of France, and of the great Armies they have in the Field, and the great Fleets they have at Sea; but I am ſure we can be at preſent under no Apprehenſions from them: That Nation has now Work enough upon their Hands, in ſending two great Armies to different Parts of the World, and providing at the ſame time for their own Security at home; and whatever Fleets they may have at Sea, it is certain, that they will have Occaſion for them elſewhere; nay, even tho' they had not, I doubt much if it be in their Power to ſend any ſuch Fleets to Sea, as could give us juſt Cauſe of Fear. When Gentlemen talk of Invaſions, I hope they do not think that this Nation is to be conquered by ten or twelve thouſand Men; and unleſs they could ſend at once ſuch an Army, as would be able to conquer the Nation, any leſſer Number would be juſt ſo many Men thrown away; for our Fleet would not only prevent Succours from coming to them, but would likewiſe prevent its being in the Power of thoſe who landed, to make their Eſcape out of the Iſland.

'But beſides, its not being in the Power of France to attempt any thing at preſent againſt us, I believe it is not in their Inclination: They certainly look upon us as their Allies, and have, I believe, good Reaſon for ſo doing; I ſhall not enter into a Diſquiſition of the many Engagements we

Anno 7. Geo. II. 1733-34.

are at preſent under to foreign Powers, but I am afraid they are ſuch, that whatever Meaſures we may purſue with reſpect to the preſent War, it will not be eaſy to reconcile the Honour and the Intereſt of this Nation. If our Intereſt ſhould call upon us to aſſiſt the Emperor and his Allies, I am afraid we muſt forfeit our Honour to France and her Allies; and if our Intereſt call upon us to aſſiſt France and Spain, we muſt equally forfeit our Honour to the Emperor; nay, if we ſhould obſerve an exact Neutrality, I am afraid both Parties would have ſome Grounds for accuſing us of a Breach of Faith; I ſhall not pretend to give Names or Epithets to any Meaſure, or to any Miniſter; but a Management, which has brought the Honour and Intereſt of the Nation thus to claſh, I cannot applaud.

'As the Deſign of propoſing the Amendment, which has been offered, ſeems to be only in order to procure ſome Information, or ſome Reaſons for the Augmentation demanded, I muſt ſay, that if the Demand on one Side be thought ſo very modeſt, it muſt be granted that what is aſked on the other Side is full as modeſt; and if nothing has been ſaid for or againſt the Augmentation, it certainly ought not to be comply'd with; for there is an eternal Reaſon againſt it, which every Member of this Houſe muſt know: The People of England are not to be loaded with unneceſſary Charges; if this new Charge be unneceſſary, it ought not to be comply'd with; and if there be a Neceſſity for it, that Neceſſity ought to be ſhewn to this Houſe; the Parliament has as good a Right to have the Reaſons for any Demand from the Crown laid before them, nay, a better, in my Opinion, than the Crown has to expect a Compliance, without ſhewing them any Reaſons for their ſo doing; and therefore, 'till ſome Reaſons be offered for our complying with the Demand, I ſhall be for the Amendment.'

Mr Talbot ſpoke next in Favour of the Augmentation.

Sir,

Mr Talbot.

'I am heartily ſorry I ſhould differ from the honourable and learned Gentleman over the Way, with whom I have always, 'till now, concurred in Queſtions of this Nature; and for whom I have the greateſt Reſpect and Eſteem. As I have always been one of thoſe Gentlemen, who have appear'd againſt keeping up numerous Standing Armies in time of Peace, I think myſelf obliged to give my Reaſons before I give my Vote for the Augmentation propoſed: For though I never thought, that we ought to keep up a large Standing-Army in time of a profound Peace, yet when there is a War actually kindled in Europe; when our Neighbours are all making vaſt military Preparations, I muſt think that we ought then to add a little to our Forces both by Sea and Land,

Land, not only for our own Security at home, but likewiſe to add to the Influence which we may have, and ought to aſpire to, with all the Parties engaged in the War. Anno 7. Geo. II. 1733-34.

'It is certain, Sir, that if there were no Parties nor Diviſions among us, this Nation would have no Occaſion to be afraid of ten or twelve thouſand Men poured in by Surprize upon us; in ſuch Caſe I do not believe any Power in Europe would attempt to invade us with double the Number; but as there are Parties and Diviſions among us, and always will be, as long as we are a free People, ten or twelve thouſand Foreigners, joined by all the Power of the Diſaffected amongſt ourſelves, might do us a great deal of Miſchief, if not overturn our preſent happy Eſtabliſhment, eſpecially if we had but a ſmall Number of regular Forces at home.

'It is likewiſe certain, Sir, that none of the Powers engaged in the War will attack us, or do any thing to diſoblige us as long as we remain quiet, and they are under no Apprehenſions of our going to join with their Enemies. But when ſuch a general War is broke forth in Europe, when the united Forces of France, Spain, and Sardinia, are tearing the Emperor's Dominions in Italy aſunder, are we to be altogether unattentive? Are we to ſit intirely regardleſs of a War, which may end in the total Overthrow of the Balance of Power in Europe? Surely, Sir, we are not; and if we ſhould reſolve to join either Party engaged in the War, or if either of them ſhould but ſuſpect ſuch a Thing, would not the Party againſt whom we ſhould reſolve to join, or who ſuſpected that we were to come to ſuch a Reſolution; would not that Party, I ſay, attempt to make a ſudden Invaſion upon us? For tho' they could not perhaps expect immediate Succeſs, yet it might give ſuch a Diverſion to the Arms of this Nation, as might prevent its being in our Power to put a Stop to their ambitious Views, or to preſerve the Balance of Power in Europe.

'In this Caſe, Sir, it is of no Weight to ſay, that, after we have come to ſuch a Reſolution, it will be Time enough to provide for our Defence; for, as I have ſaid, the Apprehenſions of our Neighbours may be ſufficient Cauſe for them to invade us, and thoſe Apprehenſions we can know nothing of 'till we feel the Effects of them; but even as to our own Reſolutions, they may happen to be diſcovered, as ſoon as taken; and as it requires a long time to raiſe any Land-Forces, and to diſcipline the Men, ſo as to make them fit for Service, it will be too late then to begin only to provide for our Security at home; we ought, before we agree to any ſuch Reſolutions, at leaſt to be ſecure at

Anno 7. Geo. II. 1733-34.

home; and then, after it is taken, we may with Eaſe provide for acting an offenſive Part.

'Upon the whole, Sir, if any very large Augmentation had been now demanded, I ſhould not perhaps have given my Vote for complying with that Demand, without having been a little better informed as to the Neceſſity for making ſuch an Augmentation; but the Augmentation now aſked is ſo ſmall, that I look upon it as done chiefly with a View of ſhewing the World, that there is a good Harmony ſubſiſting between his Majeſty and his Parliament, which, perhaps, ſome Powers abroad have been made to doubt of: And therefore I ſhall not only heartily comply with the Demand made by his Majeſty, but I wiſh that no Sort of Unwillingneſs had been ſhewn by any Gentleman in this Houſe; for as nothing can give ſo great a Weight to the Counſels of this Nation among foreign Princes, as a ſtrict Union between the King and his Parliament; ſo nothing can give ſuch a Stab to our Influence abroad, as an Attempt to deſtroy that Union; and if Great Britain ſhould loſe all the Weight it has in the Scale of Europe, to what a Paſs it might bring the Affairs of Europe I ſhall leave to Gentlemen to judge.

'In ſhort, Sir, thoſe who oppoſe an Army, as well when it is become neceſſary as when it was unneceſſary, I muſt ſuſpect of having ſome other Reaſons for their ſo doing, than thoſe they publickly avow. To me the Neceſſity of the Augmentation aſked appears to be ſufficiently evident, therefore I am ready to give my Vote againſt the Amendment propoſed.'

Mr Wyndham. After him Mr Wyndham ſpoke againſt the Augmentation; and then Sir John St Aubin ſpoke as follows:

Sir,

Sir J. St Aubin. 'I cannot perſuade myſelf to agree to the Motion as it now ſtands, becauſe I have as yet heard no Reaſon given for convincing me, that the Augmentation now demanded is neceſſary; for tho' it be called but a ſmall Number, yet to me and to all thoſe Gentlemen, who were laſt Year of Opinion, that the Number of Land-Forces then voted was by much too large, the Augmentation muſt appear to be very conſiderable, as has been already obſerved. By the Arguments I had formerly heard for continuing the Army, and the Arguments I now hear for augmenting the Army, it appears plain to me, that ſome Gentlemen are of Opinion that an Army, of at leaſt 18,000 Men, will always be neceſſary for the Support of our Government, and conſequently muſt become a Part of our Conſtitution; for when our Neighbours are all at Peace, we are told that we muſt keep up at leaſt that Number of regular Troops, becauſe

our

our Neighbours have nothing to do with their Troops elſewhere, and may therefore make ſudden and unexpected Invaſions upon us; and when any two of our Neighbours are at War with one another, which is the preſent Caſe, we are told we muſt keep up a numerous Standing-Army, becauſe our Neighbours have large Armies in the Field, and great Fleets at Sea, which they may turn ſuddenly againſt us.

'I have, Sir, a very good Opinion of the Engliſh Soldiery, and when they have been properly employed, and kept in Action, they have always done great Honour to their Country; but an Army kept here at Home, in a State of Inaction, and wantoning in Lewdneſs and Luxury till they have quite loſt the true Spirit of Engliſhmen, and are become fit to be made Slaves themſelves, may eaſily be perſuaded to make Slaves of their Fellow-Subjects; and therefore I ſhall always be againſt keeping up a numerous regular Army within this Iſland, let the Pretences for it be never ſo plauſible: Our Government has been ſupported for many Ages without any ſuch Army, and even during the whole Courſe of the laſt two great Wars, there never was a greater Number of Forces kept at Home for the Defence of this Nation, than the additional Number now propoſed, above what I, as well as a great many other Gentlemen, thought neceſſary laſt Year to be kept up.

'Gentlemen talk of Parties and Diviſions among us, and of its being neceſſary for us to prepare for our Defence before we come to any Reſolution; there may be little Diviſions among us, but as long as his Majeſty enjoys the Affections of his People, thoſe Diviſions would immediately ceaſe upon the Approach of a foreign Enemy; we would all then unite in the Defence of our King and Country; and as to preparing for our Defence, it is certain, that half the Number of the Troops we now have, would be ſufficient to repel any ſuch Invaſion that could be ſuddenly brought upon us; and if any Deſign ſhould be formed to invade us with a great Number of Troops, would not they require a great Number of Tranſport-Ships? Could ſuch a naval Armament be prepared without our hearing of it? And have not we already voted a great naval Force, with which we might eaſily block up our Enemies in their own Harbour?

'While the true Maxims of Engliſh Policy are purſued, neither his Majeſty, nor any of his Succeſſors, will ever have an Occaſion for Standing Armies; the King will always find a Security for his Perſon and Government in the Hearts and Purſes of his People; but if ever a vicious Miniſter ſhall begin to act upon other Maxims, Armies may then become neceſſary to ſkreen the Miniſter, or even to ſupport his

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his Maſter; and ſuch a Miniſter may perhaps find a corrupt Parliament, ſervilely and ſlaviſhly complying with his moſt unreaſonable Demands: This may ſupport him for a while, but the Spirit of the People will be rouzed at laſt, and even that Army, in which he puts his ſole Truſt, may probably join with the reſt of their Countrymen, in taking Vengeance on the Man who attempted to enſlave his Country.

'This, I ſay, may probably be the Caſe; but as Standing Armies may be ſo modell'd and manag'd, as to become proper Tools for tyrannical Power, therefore there is nothing a free People ought to be more cautious of; and as I can ſee no Neceſſity for the Augmentation propoſed, I cannot give my Conſent to the Propoſition. I do not, indeed, know our preſent Situation; but whatever it may be, I muſt ſay, that if, by the Ignorance of him at the Helm, if by his ſhifting the Sails at every Turn of the Wind, our Ship be brought into great Diſtreſs, and our Reckoning quite loſt, he ought in Juſtice and Modeſty to reſign the Helm. A General Council ought to be called, and every particular Circumſtance laid fully before them, that they may from thence learn how Affairs ſtand, ſo as to be able to judge how to put the Ship in a right Courſe.'

Col. Cholmondeley.

Col. Cholmondeley, Member for Boſſiney, ſpoke next for the Augmentation; and then the Queſtion was put upon the Amendment propos'd by Sir William Wyndham which was carried in the Negative by 262 againſt 162. After this, the Queſtion was put upon the firſt Motion, which was agreed to without a Diviſion; and then the following Reſolutions was likewiſe agreed to, That 647,429 l. 11 s. 3 d ½. be granted to his Majeſty, for defraying the Charge of 17,704 Men for Guards, Garriſons, and other his Majeſty's Land-Forces in Great Britain, Guernſey, and Jerſey, for the Year 1734.

Ld Morpeth moves for a Bill to prevent any Commiſſion-Officer, not above the Rank of a Colonel of a Regiment, from being remov'd, unleſs by a Court-Martial, or by Addreſs of either Houſe of Parliament.

Feb. 13. The Mutiny Bill having been read a ſecond Time, and committed to a Committee of the whole Houſe, the Lord Viſcount Morpeth ſtood up and ſpoke as follows:

Mr Speaker,

'Though an Army be, as yet, no Part of our Conſtitution, yet we find the Parliament has, of late, thought proper to keep a much greater Number of Forces on Foot in this Kingdom, than was known in former Times. I have always been one of thoſe, who thought a much leſs Number ſufficient for the Defence of this Nation, and the Security of our Government; but a Majority of both Houſes of Parliament have been of a contrary Opinion, being thereto induced, as I believe, ſometimes by Plots, and treaſonable Conſpiracies at Home; and at other Times by the Situation of our Affairs Abroad, and the precarious State in which the

the Affairs of Europe happen'd to be in at that Time. This has been our unfortunate Caſe for many Years paſt, and it is to be fear'd that our Caſe for Years to come will not be much better, ſo that 'tis probable that the ſame Number of regular Forces, or perhaps a greater Number, may be thought neceſſary to be continued from Year to Year; therefore I think it is the Buſineſs of Parliament to put our Army under ſuch Regulations, as may be thought proper and neceſſary for the Security of our Conſtitution. Anno 7. Geo. II. 1733-34.

'It is certain, a numerous Standing-Army, intirely under the Influence of the Crown, or of any one Man, has overturned the Liberties of moſt Countries, and muſt always be dangerous to this; and tho' the Parliament has hitherto thought fit to conſent to the keeping up the Number we have at preſent, yet it is well known what Fears and Apprehenſions that Meaſure has created in the Minds of the People; and therefore it is become neceſſary for us to think of ſome Regulation which may quiet them, by ſecuring our Conſtitution, as much as poſſible, againſt the bad Conſequences uſually attending the keeping up of a Standing-Army: This may be effected in a great Meaſure, by making our Army not altogether ſo dependent upon the Crown as they are at preſent; for the leſs dependent the Army is upon any one Man, the leſs dangerous they muſt be to the Liberties of their Country; and with this View it is that I ſhall beg Leave to make a Motion, which will, I hope, meet with a general Approbation.

'There is one Power now enjoy'd by the Crown, which muſt always be attended with the moſt dangerous Conſequences; I mean, the arbitrary Power now lodged in the Crown, of removing the Officers of the Army at Pleaſure: At preſent the Crown, or rather the Miniſters and Favourites of the Crown, may remove any Officer of the Army, without any Reaſon or Cauſe aſſign'd, nay, even without ſo much as accuſing him of any Crime or Neglect in his Military Capacity; and this Power muſt appear to every Gentleman to be the more dangerous, when we conſider how many Gentlemen of the Army have Seats in this Houſe, as well as in the other Houſe of Parliament.

'In all the other Countries of Europe which have any Pretences to Liberty, tho' there are perhaps none of them that enjoy ſo much Freedom as we do, yet there are, by their Laws, ſome wiſe Proviſions made, with reſpect to their Armies: In Holland no Officer can be broke but by Sentence of a Court Martial; but in Sweden, during the Reign of their laſt King, they were ſo ſenſible of the many Inconveniencies and great Dangers of this abſolute Power, which their King had over the Army, that upon his De-

Anno 7. Geo. II. 1733-34.

miſe, they made a Law, that no Officer ſhould thereafter be removed from his Commiſſion in the Army, without the Conſent of the Senate. This muſt ſhew what Opinion all our Neighbours, who have any Regard for the Liberty of their Country, have of this arbitrary Power in the Crown; and, as I hope, there are no People upon the Earth who have a greater Regard to the Liberty of their Country, than the Gentlemen who now hear me, I ſhall therefore, without farther opening this Affair, move, That Leave may be given to bring in a Bill for the better ſecuring the Conſtitution, by preventing the Officers not above the Rank of Colonels of Regiments, of ſuch Land-Forces as ſhall at any Time be allowed by Authority of Parliament, from being deprived of their Commiſſions, otherwiſe than by Judgment of a Court-Martial to be held for that Purpoſe, or by Addreſs of either Houſe of Parliament.'

Sir J. Ruſhout.

Sir John Ruſhout ſeconded the Motion thus:

Sir,

'The noble Lord, who has been pleaſed to make you the Motion, has opened it in ſo full and ſo clear a Manner, and has made it appear to me ſo reaſonable, that I cannot help joining with his Lordſhip in it. That a Standing-Army is no Part of our Conſtitution, will not, I believe, be denied by any Gentleman in this Houſe, it being declared ſo by the Mutiny-Bill, which we have juſt now read a ſecond Time; but yet our Army has been kept up ſo many Years, and is likely to be kept up for ſo many Years longer, that it is high Time to provide ſome Antidote for that Evil, which every Man ſo juſtly apprehends.

'By the Mutiny-Bill it appears, that no common Soldier can be puniſhed or diſmiſſed as guilty of a Crime, till he be firſt tried and found guilty by the Sentence of a Court-Martial; that the Officers of the Army ſhould be in a worſe Situation, that they ſhould be liable to be removed, as if guilty, without any Crime ſo much as alledged againſt them, or any Trial or Sentence, appears to me ſo inconſiſtent, that I am ſurprized ſome Regulations in this Particular has not been made long ago. The noble Lord, who made this Motion, took Notice that there were, and, I believe, always will be, a great many Officers of the Army who have Seats in Parliament; there are now above forty who have Seats in this Houſe; and tho' I have an Opinion of them, and do not doubt but that they will act with as much Integrity as any other Gentlemen in the Houſe, yet as long as they are liable to be turned out of their Commiſſions at the Pleaſure of a Miniſter, they may juſtly ſuſpect that the Continuance of their Commiſſions, may depend upon their Behaviour in this Houſe; and therefore it muſt be granted, that they are

more

more liable to a Miniſterial, or a Court-Dependence than other Members are; for which Reaſon, I am ſure that they cannot diſapprove of a Propoſition, meant chiefly to ſet them on the ſame independent Foot that other Gentlemen are on, with reſpect to their Behaviour in this Houſe: I cannot indeed apprehend, that a Propoſition in itſelf ſo reaſonable can meet with any Oppoſition; but if it ſhould, I make no Doubt of having the Aſſiſtance of thoſe Gentlemen of the Army, who have the Honour to be Members of this Houſe, in Support of a Propoſition deſigned for their Security, as well as for ſecuring the Liberties of their Country; I am only afraid leſt Modeſty may make ſome of them withdraw: This I ſhall be ſorry for; but I hope none of them will ſhew ſo much Self-denial as to oppoſe the Motion, only becauſe it is for their private Intereſt to agree to it. I ſhall not upon this Occaſion give the Houſe any farther Trouble; the Regulation propoſed is ſo apparently reaſonable and neceſſary, that I do not think it requires much to be ſaid, either to explain or enforce it; and if any Objections ſhould be ſtarted, I hope other Gentlemen will take Care to remove them, therefore I ſhall only ſecond the Motion.'

Hereupon Mr Clutterbuck ſtood up, and oppos'd the Motion.

Sir,

Mr Clutterbuck.

'Notwithſtanding what has been ſaid by the noble Lord who made the Motion, and the honourable Gentleman who ſeconded it, I cannot give my Concurrence. The noble Lord ſet out with ſaying, that a Standing-Army is no Part of our Conſtitution: God forbid it ſhould ever become ſo: But it is certain, that the Parliament may ſometimes find it neceſſary to keep up a Standing-Army from Year to Year, for the Support and Defence of our Conſtitution; and for this Purpoſe it is, that the Parliament has of late Years conſented to the keeping up of the Army, which ſome Gentlemen in this Houſe have, indeed thought to conſiſt of too great a Number; but I do not remember ever to have heard it ſo much as inſinuated, that we ought not to have any regular Forces at all in the Country. The Conſtitution of this Country is the beſt I know, or ever heard of; and therefore I ſhall always think, that all that is incumbent upon us, is to preſerve and hand it down, as it is now, to thoſe that ſhall come after us; but if there were any Flaw in our Conſtitution, I am ſure the Propoſition now made to us, would be ſo far from mending, that it would intirely ſap and undermine it. It has always been the undoubted Prerogative of the Crown, to make and remove the Officers of the Army at Pleaſure; this is a Part of our Conſtitution, and to invade the Prerogative, or wantonly to rob the Crown of any

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Part of it, is certainly an Invaſion of our Conſtitution, which People ought to be extremely cautious of; for if we once begin to make Alterations or Innovations in our Conſtitution, it will not be ſo eaſy to tell where it will end, or how far we may go: If we once begin, we may be carried ſuch Lengths as may intirely ſubvert that Conſtitution, which has rendered this Nation ſo rich and ſo powerful, and which makes us at preſent the happieſt People upon Earth. While the Army continues in its preſent Condition, while the Officers depend upon the King for their Commiſſions, and the whole Army upon the Parliament for its Continuance and Pay, our Conſtitution cannot be ſubverted by our Army, nor can we be in any Danger from any Number of regular Forces ſo kept up; but if this Propoſition ſhould take Place, it would make the Army really dangerous to our Conſtitution; the Army would then become both independent of King and Parliament, and might ſoon make themſelves Maſters of both. There are many Crimes an Officer may be guilty of, which might give good and ſufficient Reaſon to his Majeſty to remove him, and yet thoſe Crimes may be ſuch as cannot properly be tried by a Court-Martial; for Example, Diſaffection: His Majeſty and all Mankind may be fully convinced of the Diſaffection of an Officer, tho' it may be impoſſible to prove that Diſaffection to the Satisfaction of a Court-Martial; and yet the Diſaffection may be ſo flagrant, and ſo ready to break forth in ſome treaſonable Act, that the Safety of the Government, the very Being of our Conſtitution, may depend upon the immediate Removal of that Officer; and as this Propoſition, ſhould it paſs into a Law, would make ſuch Officers the more bold and enterprizing, the Conſequence of their Diſaffection, which could not then be immediately prevented, would be the more to be dreaded. The noble Lord mentioned to us the Caſe of ſome of our neighbouring Countries, but I muſt think, that when we ſee other People more happy or more free than ourſelves, it is then time enough for us to fly to other Countries to ſeek Examples for our Imitation: And as to the Caſe of Holland, I cannot ſay I have lately conſidered that Conſtitution, therefore I ſpeak with Uncertainty; but I believe that as to their Army their Stadtholder has the ſame Power that our King has; he may, I believe, remove the Officers of the Army at Pleaſure, and for us to take from his Majeſty that Power, which all his Royal Predeceſſors have enjoyed, which even the States of Holland have truſted their Supreme Magiſtrate with, would, in my Opinion, appear very ſtrange, eſpecially ſince it muſt be granted, that his Majeſty has never once made an ill Uſe of that Power, or done any Thing to deſerve its being taken from him. In ſhort, I take this

this Propoſition to be a moſt dangerous Innovation, if not a thorough Alteration of our Conſtitution; therefore I cannot conſent to it.'

Mr Clutterbuck was anſwer'd by Mr Sandys.

Sir,

Mr Sandys.

'I am very much ſurprized to hear the honourable Gentleman, who ſpoke laſt, ſay, that this Propoſition would ſap and undermine our Conſtitution; for if a Standing-Army be no Part of our Conſtitution, as he himſelf was pleaſed to admit, how can it be poſſible that any Regulation with reſpect to our Army, can ſap and undermine, or indeed have any thing to do with our Conſtitution? It is certain, that our Army is not as yet any Part of our Conſtitution; but if a Standing-Army be continued, for any time to come, upon the ſame Footing it is at preſent, ſome future ambitious King, or criminal Prime-Miniſter may model it ſo as to make it not only a Part, but under them, the whole of our Conſtitution. The Officers of the Army and other Dependents upon the Crown, may at laſt become ſo numerous in both Houſes of Parliament, that they may come to be almoſt the only Perſons to meet here, in order to make Laws and impoſe Taxes, and then to ſend their Orders to their inferior Officers and Subſtitutes, to execute thoſe Laws, and levy thoſe Taxes; and all this under the Direction of an ambitious Prince or wicked Miniſter, who may make a blind Submiſſion to the moſt arbitrary Commands, the only Tenure by which they are to hold their Commiſſions, or even their Seats in Parliament; in ſuch Caſe I would gladly know where we could find the Liberties and Privileges of the People of England, or any other Conſtitution, but that of our King, his Miniſters, and his Army.

'The Prerogative of the Crown, this Power which our Kings are ſaid always to have enjoyed, and which Gentlemen are ſo much afraid of the Crown's being robbed of, is but a very new Prerogative; for a Standing-Army is ſo far from being a Part of our Conſtitution, that 'till of late Years there never was any ſuch thing known in this Nation; 'Till the Revolution we never had any ſuch Thing as a regular Standing-Army; the Army that was raiſed at that time, was raiſed to defend our Liberties and Properties, and to aſſiſt a Prince who came to reſcue us from Slavery; as ſoon as the Danger was over, it was always underſtood, that the Army was to be diſbanded, but the two heavy Wars we were ſucceſſively engaged in, made it neceſſary to keep up a Standing-Army during the Reigns of that Prince and his Succeſſor; and ever ſince that time there have always been, I do not know how, ſome Pretences found to keep up a numerous Standing-Army, even in times of the moſt profound

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found Peace; ſo that we ſeem now ſo firmly ſaddled with it, that I am afraid few Gentlemen in this Houſe will live to ſee our preſent Army, or any Part of them, reduc'd. Before the Revolution, thoſe Armies, by which we always ſo bravely defended ourſelves, thoſe Armies, which made us a Terror to our Enemies, were Armies raiſed among the People, upon the Approach of Danger; and as ſoon as that Danger was over, as ſoon as Peace returned, the Army was diſmiſſed, and the Soldiers returned to their uſual Labour and Induſtry; in thoſe Days it is well known that our Military Force did not intirely depend upon our Kings. The King, indeed, had the chief Command, but moſt of the other Commanders were ſuch as were choſen by their reſpective Counties, or ſuch as held their Commands by their Tenures, and could not be removed from that Command, without being legally found guilty of a Crime, no more than they could have been removed from their Free-holds: Therefore, when Gentlemen talk of the Prerogative of the Crown, which they ſay is to be invaded by this Propoſition, they muſt be underſtood to mean only that Prerogative, which has grown up ſince the Revolution. It is certain, that the Prerogative of the Crown has always been a very growing Part of our Conſtitution, and for this Reaſon our Anceſtors have often been obliged to clip and pare it, otherwiſe all the Liberties and Privileges of the People would long ago have been ſwallowed up by the Prerogative; and, I believe, it will be granted, that the Prerogative, even within theſe laſt 30 or 40 Years, has grown pretty conſiderably. I believe every Gentleman will admit, the Power of the Crown is now infinitely greater than it was for ſome Years after the Revolution; and I wiſh that thoſe, who now ſeem ſo tender of invading what they call the Prerogative, would, upon other Occaſions, appear as tender of invading the Liberties of the People: This ought to be the principal Care of every Member of this Houſe; the Crown ſtands in no Need of any Advocates here, becauſe by our Conſtitution, the Crown may put a Stop to any Incroachment upon the Prerogative, when the Incroachment is ſuch as may not be thought neceſſary for the Preſervation of our Liberties. The Gentleman talked of Innovations and Alterations in the Conſtitution, as of ſomething new and terrible; I do not know what that Gentleman may mean by Innovations and Alterations; but I am ſure our Conſtitution has ſeaſonably met with many Amendments. Do we not know, that formerly the Crown not only named, but could remove the Judges, at Pleaſure; and this arbitrary Power of removing, with reſpect to the Judges, was formerly a Part of the Prerogative; but as great Inconveniencies were felt from the Uſe that had been

been made of this Power, it was taken from the Crown; and the Judges, when once named by the Crown, were by Law made Judges for Life. This Law, when firſt made, was certainly intended to make them Judges for their own Lives; but even this Part of the Prerogative has begun again to grow; and thoſe very Gentlemen, the Judges themſelves, have been prevailed on to find out I do not know what Quirks and Evaſions, whereby they ſeem now to have fixed their Right for the Life of another Perſon only. However, even as it ſtands now, the Prerogative has thereby been diminiſhed, and whether this was to be called an Invaſion, an Innovation, or an Alteration, I do not know, but I am very ſure, it was a very neceſſary Amendment, which has produced no Inconveniencies, nor any way injured our Conſtitution; and why doing the ſame thing with reſpect to the Officers of the Army, ſhould give ſuch a terrible Alarm to ſome Gentlemen, as if our Conſtitution was thereby to be ſapped and undermined, I cannot comprehend. I agree with the honourable Gentleman, that our Conſtitution, to take it in the general, is as good, if not better than that of any of our neighbouring Countries, yet in ſome Particulars ſome of them may have the Advantage of us, and in theſe we ought not to be aſhamed to take Example from them, and from thence endeavour to improve our own: For political Conſtitutions, even of the beſt Sort, are like the Conſtitutions of human Bodies, apt to languiſh and decay, and often ſtand in need of Reſtoratives; even our own Conſtitution, good as it is, wants every now and then to be poliſhed and reſtored to its primitive Luſtre, and particularly that growing Part, the Prerogative, ought ſometimes to have its cumberſome Branches lopp'd off, otherwiſe it may become too heavy for the principal Stock: This is what our Anceſtors have often done, and this is what I think we may in the preſent Caſe do, without the leaſt Danger. The honourable Gentleman took Notice of the Trials by Courts-Martial, and ſaid, that there were many Things an Officer might be guilty of, for which he ought to be removed, and which, nevertheleſs, could not be properly tried, or, at leaſt, not fully proved before a Court-Martial; and he mentioned particularly the Caſe of Diſaffection: I cannot grant that this is a Caſe which can often happen; but allowing that it might, it is fully provided againſt by the Motion which the noble Lord hath been pleaſed to make: Does not the Parliament ſit every Year? And, in Caſe of an Officer's being notoriouſly diſaffected, is it to be doubted, but that the Parliament would addreſs his Majeſty to remove ſuch an Officer from all Command in the Army? And there could be no Danger from the Delay, becauſe his Majeſty could, in the mean

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mean Time, ſuſpend him, or even lay him under an Arreſt, if it ſhould be thought neceſſary.'

Col. Bladen.

Upon this Col. Bladen ſpoke as follows:

Sir,

'I can by no Means give my Aſſent to the Propoſition now before us, as it tends to the taking from the Crown a Prerogative, which, not only by our Conſtitution, belongs to the Crown, but has, by expreſs Acts of Parliament been declared to be ſolely in the Crown; for a Proof of which, I ſhall only deſire the two Militia-Acts paſſed in the 13th and 14th Years of the Reign of King Charles II. to be read.'

[*Here the Clerk of the Houſe read thoſe Acts.*]

'Whatever Gentlemen may ſay about our Conſtitution, it appears by theſe Acts, that the Senſe of Parliament then was, that the ſupreme Government of the Militia, and of all Forces by Sea and Land then was, and ever was the King's undoubted Right; and that the King might, at Pleaſure, commiſſionate or diſplace the Officers of the Militia; and therefore I muſt think, that if ever our Militia-Force was under any other Regulation, it was either a Regulation which was not according to our Conſtitution, or it was a Regulation which was found to be ſo inconvenient, that it was very ſoon alter'd. Gentlemen may indeed ſay, that theſe Acts concern only the Militia, and have no Relation to our Standing Army; but as our Militia was found to be of little or no Uſe after our Neighbours began all to keep up regular Standing Armies; therefore we were obliged to ſubſtitute, in the Place of our Militia, a regular Standing Army; and conſequently, the ſame Power over that Standing Army and the Officers of that Army, muſt be ſuppoſed to be veſted, by theſe Acts, in the King, as he is thereby declared to have had over the Militia and the Officers of the Militia; and now to attempt to take away that Prerogative, when I am ſure it cannot be ſaid that any wrong Uſe has lately been made of it, appears to me very extraordinary.

'I have heard, that ſome Gentlemen are ſo much out of Humour with our preſent Government, and ſo tired of our preſent happy Eſtabliſhment, that they would do almoſt any Thing to get rid of it; they would, for that End, even agree to the making a thorough Change in our Conſtitution, by forming it into a Commonwealth; I could never indeed believe that there was any Truth in theſe Reports; I could not believe that there could be ſuch a Madman in this Nation: But ſhould this Motion take Place, if I could ſo much as believe that Gentlemen were really ſerious in the Motion they have made, I would no longer look upon ſuch

Reports

Reports as chymerical; for I never heard of any Motion made in Parliament, which tended ſo directly towards eſtabliſhing a Commonwealth, as the preſent does, except ſome of thoſe famous Motions which were made in the Years Forty and Forty-One; and I am perſuaded, if this Motion ſhould take Place, it will produce the ſame Conſequences. Anno 7. Geo. II. 1733-34.

'What! to create an Army for Life, an Army independent of the King, ſure Gentlemen are not in earneſt, or they muſt have forgot the Confuſions, and the fatal Effects which were formerly produced in this Nation by ſuch an Army. I thank God, I am none of thoſe who are tired of our preſent happy Eſtabliſhment: I think we enjoy our Liberties in their full Extent, and I ſhall never give my Conſent to a Propoſition, which would put it out of the King's Power to remove any, even of thoſe Officers who are appointed to guard his Royal Perſon, without the Conſent of the other Officers: It would be found to be a difficult Matter to prevail with a Court Martial to puniſh or break an Officer, perhaps, for a Crime which every one of that Court Martial was himſelf guilty of. If the Gentlemen of the Army ſhould once be made to depend only upon one another, they would ſoon be made ſenſible of their own Power, and we do not know what Uſe they might be tempted to make of it. In ſhort, Sir, the Propoſition, in my Opinion, tends to nothing but Confuſion; and therefore I am heartily againſt it.'

Sir Thomas Robinſon ſpoke next againſt Lord Morpeth's Motion, as follows: Sir Tho. Robinſon.

Sir,

'I cannot help expreſſing my Surpriſe at a Propoſition of this Nature; for though it has been talked of without Doors for ſome time paſt, yet I never could 'till Yeſterday believe that it would actually have been introduced here; becauſe it appears to me to be founded on a Suppoſition, that the ſame Number of Forces we now maintain, is for ever to be entailed on our Poſterity.

'Had a Propoſition of this Nature come hither from another Quarter, founded on the Perpetuity of the Army, it would have been thought highly unreaſonable; and if a Regulation thus founded, ſhould paſs this Houſe, it may be made Uſe of hereafter as an Argument to continue the Army, when there is no longer any Reaſon for it; and may be employed as a Means to interweave the Civil with the Military Power, and to make a Military Eſtabliſhment a Part of our Conſtitution.

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'As this Queſtion has been ſtated, the Power of the King and the Liberties of the People ſeem to interfere, and therefore it will be very difficult to ſpeak in Favour of the one, without being liable to be repreſented as having a Deſign to depreſs the other; but as the Excellency of our Conſtitution conſiſts in preſerving a juſt Temperament between the King, Lords, and Commons, and the right balancing the Power allotted to each, we ought not to attempt to diminiſh the Power of either of theſe three in any Inſtance, unleſs by the Exerciſe of Power in that parcular Caſe it be found, that that Branch of our Legiſlature is armed with a Strength diſproportionable to the other two; and therefore, before we concur in taking away from the Crown the Prerogative of diſplacing Officers, it ought firſt to be very clearly demonſtrated, that the Influence the King has at preſent over the Army, is greater than is neceſſary for the Security of his Perſon and Government, or greater than is conſiſtent with the Liberties of the People; and this I take to be the very Point in Queſtion.

'The very Point now in Debate ſeems to be, Whether the lopping off ſo great a Branch of Prerogative from the Crown, and transferring it to the Army, will not diſarm the Crown of a Power neceſſary to keep the Army firm and ſteady to our preſent Eſtabliſhment? and whether by truſting it in the Hands of the Soldiers, we may throw a greater Degree of independent Strength into the Army itſelf, than it ought to have, a much greater than has hitherto been thought either fit or prudent to intruſt it with.

'Upon this Occaſion, I cannot help reminding Gentlemen, what fatal Conſequences attended that Law made in the Year 1641, whereby it was put out of the Power of the King to diſſolve or prorogue the Parliament without their own Conſent; if breaking the Balance of any of the three Powers in the Legiſlature, if the two Houſes of Parliament aſſuming to themſelves an Independency not lawfully veſted in them by our Conſtitution, was attended with ſo many Evils, what may we not dread, ſhould we ſee the Officers of an Army not removable, but by their own Conſent? The Hiſtory of the laſt Century fully ſhews us, what various Scenes of Confuſion ſucceeded the fatal Statute I have juſt mentioned, and every one's Thoughts may ſuggeſt to him, what muſt be the natural Conſequence of this, ſhould it ſucceed.

'If Gentlemen will only recollect a little the Roman Hiſtory, they will find, that whenever Military Governments of Provinces were given for Life, or for a certain Term of Years only, or even when the Army got the Privilege of chooſing their own Officers, the Sovereign Power came ſoon after to be lodged in the Army itſelf, and proved fatal to thoſe very Perſons who had acquieſced under theſe ill-judged Conceſſions; and I am afraid, if a Power ſhould be given our Army, that no Officer ſhall be put out, but by the Judgment and Conſent of the other Officers, the next natural Step for them to take will be, that none ſhall be put in or preferred, who have not their Recommendation; for Armies are of ſuch a Nature, that they either muſt obey, or will ſoon command. Numberleſs Examples might be produced in Support of what I have ſaid, both from ancient and modern Hiſtory; but I ſhall not now enumerate Particulars, with which many other Gentlemen may be better acquainted than I am.

'And that this has been the received Opinion of our Anceſtors, ſince Monarchy was known in this Iſland, becomes evident by reflecting, that in all the Struggles they had with the Crown for Liberty; nay, even at the Time of the late Revolution, when every thing was thought of by the Patriots of thoſe Days, for leſſening the Royal Prerogative, ſo far as was judged neceſſary for, or conſiſtent with the Preſervation of our Conſtitution, I do not remember to have read or heard, that there was ever a Mention made of any Project of this Nature; and it is moſt certain, that if ſuch a Project had been in Force 50 Years ago, our Buſineſs in this Houſe would now have been rather to have regiſtered the Edicts preſcribed to us by the Army, than to have debated any thing that might affect a Body of Men made ſo formidable by their Independency.

'I would aſk the Gentlemen, who are for this Propoſition, one plain Queſtion, Whether it be not abſolutely neceſſary, that either the Military Power muſt be dependent on the Civil Power, or the Civil upon the Military? If from the Nature of Things one be neceſſary, the Option cannot be difficult to make. Surely, Gentlemen upon this Occaſion, do not recollect the Fate of their Predeceſſors in the Middle of the laſt Century, when the Parliament, by granting ſuch Conceſſions to the Army, made the Army ſoon hold them in Contempt, who had thus made the Military Power independent of the Civil Magiſtrate; I ſay, I muſt take it for granted, that this Part of our Hiſtory is intirely forgot, when I ſee a Queſtion moved in this Houſe, tending to

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give the Army that Independency of the State, which has formerly made, and in Proceſs of Time, muſt again make Parliaments uſeleſs; for I look upon Mankind in general as pretty near upon a Level, in all Ages, very ſtrong Temptations will too often get the better of the very beſt Intention, and like Cauſes will always produce like Effects.

'In my Opinion, the great Danger to be guardad againſt in all Armies is, any Step that tends to raiſe them to a State of Independency; and therefore by the Wiſdom of the Legiſlature, our Army is ſo wiſely conſtituted, as not only to be dependent on the annual Votes of this Houſe for its Subſiſtence and Continuance, but alſo as to the Number it ſhall conſiſt of; then as to the Nomination of the Officers, it has always been lodged in the Crown, as 'tis highly proper it ſhould, they have always been left dependent on the King, whoſe Perſon they are obliged to defend, whoſe Government they are intended to ſupport.

'Thus is our Army neceſſarily dependent in a double Capacity, the Whole is dependent on this Houſe for its very Exiſtence, which may be put an End to whenever any Danger comes to be apprehended from it; but the Officers, while the Army exiſts, are to depend on the King for their Commiſſions, otherwiſe how could he depend on their Fidelity or Behaviour, ſhould they be called forth to Action; for an Officer may be guilty of ſeveral Crimes which cannot be properly laid before a Court-Martial, particularly Diſaffection, of which, tho' there be Proof ſufficient to make it indiſputable, yet the Proof may be of ſuch a Nature, as not to be proper to be laid before a Court Martial, or perhaps cannot be laid in ſuch a Manner, as to make it have its juſt Weight with Officers ſitting in Judgment on one of their own Fraternity.

'Tho', therefore, in this Reſpect, our Army, as it receives its annual Support and Exiſtence from the Parliament, may be call'd a State-Army, a Denomination an honourable Gentleman has much inſiſted on, yet, I think, the Concluſions he has drawn from thence are very ill grounded; for a State-Army, as ſuch, does not in the leaſt imply a Neceſſity of the Officers holding their Imployments for Life; on the contrary, it ſeems neceſſary in all Armies, they ſhould be ſubordinate to ſome other Power, that they may not defeat the Purpoſe for which they are maintained; for if they ſhould be thus made dependent only on themſelves, and independent of the three other Powers of the Legiſlature, it will, in my Opinion, be laying the Foundation of a fourth Power, a Military one, which may, in Proceſs of Time, render uſeleſs the other three.

'This

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'This leads me to consider, in whom the Advocates for this Question propose to lodge this Power, this important Branch of the Prerogative, which is to be lopp'd off from the Crown, if this Military Scheme succeeds: As the Prerogative of the Crown is to be diminished, one would naturally imagine the Power of the People was intended to be increased; but this is not to be the Case, it is to be transferred from the Crown, not to the People, but to the Army, and lodged solely with the Officers themselves, who, from that Moment, will be independent of the Crown, and in Time, perhaps, of all other Authority; for one of the great Restraints upon the Army is this very Prerogative, which the King has of displacing Officers who may be suspected of bad Intentions: Give this Privilege to the Officers themselves only, and what Security shall we then have for their future Behaviour? In short, we shall then have raised a Power in Support of the present Establishment, without having provided a Security against its attempting to overturn that very Establishment; for thus, by removing this necessary Check upon the Army, a distant Time may come, when the Nation, with Reason, may be jealous of an Army, in whose Hands we shall have put a Power sufficient to enable them to get the better both of King and Parliament, and to set up a new Constitution of their own; whereas, while the Army continues in the State it is at present, there is little Danger to be apprehended from it, even should it have the Rashness to attempt any Thing against either.

'It has been urged by an honourable Gentleman under the Gallery, that, as the Judges hold their Imployments for Life, we ought to convey the same Privileges to the Officers of the Army: In my Opinion, this is Reasoning upon a very wrong Foundation, for, I think, no just Parallel can be drawn betwixt Civil and Military Officers in general, but certainly there is the widest Difference between those who act in a Judicial, and those who act in a Military Capacity; for the same State of Independence necessary to leave the Judge unbiassed in pronouncing Judgment, would tend to disengage the Soldier from that Interest, to which he ought solely, and in Contradistinction to all others, to be thoroughly attached: A Judge should be left free and unbiassed, that he may speak what the Law speaks, and distribute Justice impartially to all Parties; but the very Nature of the Army requires the strictest Subordination in the Officers, without which there can be no Discipline; the Soldier must be dependent, and must act in Subjection to the

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the lawful Commands of thoſe, by whom he is maintain'd; nor can any Qualification make amends for his Failure in this Particular.

'There is beſides a particular Circumſtance, which makes it impoſſible to draw any juſt Parallel between the Judges and the Officers of the Army; the Judges not only determine between Subject and Subject, but they are likewiſe to determine between the Crown and the People; if any Queſtion ariſes between the King and a Subject, they are to determine the Point in diſpute, and therefore it is neceſſary that they ſhould be made as independent as poſſible upon either of the Parties; but no ſuch Power was ever yet lodged in the Officers of the Army, and it is to be hoped never will; for tho' I have ſo great an Opinion of the Gentlemen who are at preſent in the Service, that I think any Power may be ſafely lodged in their Hands, yet, I believe, they neither deſire ſuch a Power, nor would they conſent to the giving of any ſuch to their Succeſſors.

'But the Propoſition now made to us would render the Officers of the Army ſtill more independent, both upon our King and Government, than the Judges are at preſent: If a Judge be guilty of any Crime, or of any Neglect of Duty in the Execution of his Office, he is not to be try'd by the other Judges only, he is to be try'd by a Jury, he is to have an open and a fair Trial in Weſtminſter-Hall, as the reſt of his Fellow-Subjects have; and if it were otherwiſe, if a Judge for any Misbehaviour, were to be try'd in a private Way by his Brother-Judges only, I ſhould think both our Lives, Liberties, and Properties in greater Danger from them under ſuch a Regulation, than if they were ſtill dependent on the Crown for the Continuance of their Commiſſions; and it muſt be granted, that this laſt would be the Caſe of the Officers of the Army, if this Propoſition ſhould take place; for they could be try'd by none, they could be puniſh'd by none but themſelves, and conſequently they would have no Dependence but upon one another; and without any Derogation to the Characters of thoſe, who are now ſo worthily at the Head of the Law, or to thoſe who command in the Army, I believe every Perſon will allow, that the Fear of Puniſhment, and the Hopes of Reward, are equally neceſſary to keep moſt Men to their Duty, and of courſe to make them uſeful to Society.

'As another Reaſon in Support of this Propoſition, an honourable Gentleman has recommended the Wiſdom of the Swedes to our Imitation, who, he ſays, have introduced this

this very Regulation in their Army; but give me Leave to obſerve, in Anſwer to this, it is ſo very late a Practice among them, that they cannot yet be proper Judges, how far 'twill anſwer the Purpoſe for which 'twas introduced.

'To be ſure it is very commendable in thoſe who have ſpoke for this Queſtion; nay, it is the Duty every Man owes his Country, to obſerve the Methods of Government uſed in other States, and adopt that which is founded on Wiſdom and true Policy into their own; but in all Attempts of this Kind, a ſtrict Regard is to be had to the particular Turn of our own Conſtitution; for what may be a neceſſary Step in one State, may prove to be the Deſtruction of another; and therefore, moſt certainly, the bare Example of the Swedes ought not to influence us to take ſo extraordinary a Reſolution, unleſs the Nature of our own Conſtitution would juſtify it: If Gentlemen reaſon only from the Example of the Swedes, they may with the ſame Juſtice plead for a farther Introduction of their Laws; and as all foreign Affairs are tranſacted by their Senate, they may on the ſame Account expect, that the Management of all our foreign Negociations ought to be ſubmitted ſolely to the Direction of this Houſe; they may likewiſe pretend to tranſplant other Cuſtoms, prevalent in the Senate of Sweden, into our Parliament, which would quite alter the preſent Form of our Conſtitution, and introduce a new Species of Government into this Kingdom; for it is certain, that a King of Sweden has now hardly the Power of a Stadtholder of Holland, eſpecially with Reſpect to the Officers of the Army; none of whom he can even create or promote, without the Conſent of the Senate; their Government at preſent is, indeed, little more than a Commonwealth, ſo that few Things can be drawn from their Practice, as an Example fit for us to follow.

'Before I conclude, Sir, give me Leave to remind Gentlemen, that our Hiſtories ſufficiently teach us this Truth, that our Liberties and Conſtitution are never in greater Danger, than when any one of the Branches of our Legiſlature graſps at any Power or Authority, which hath, by the Wiſdom of our Anceſtors, been appropriated to another; and therefore, moſt certainly, an unwarrantable Attack upon the Prerogative of the Crown, which may, indeed, be intended to extend the Liberties of the People, is in Reality the readieſt Way to bring them into Danger. I believe every impartial Perſon will acknowledge, that in our preſent happy Situation, we of this Nation enjoy as much Liberty

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Liberty as is conſiſtent with that Subjection which is neceſſary for the Support of all Governments; and the ſureſt Way to continue this particular Bleſſing to ourſelves, and to perpetuate it to our Poſterity, is to reſt ſatisfy'd with what we enjoy, and not to hazard what we already have, by aiming to extend the Liberties of the People to a Degree, perhaps, we ourſelves may be the firſt Perſons ſhall be ſenſible of the Inconveniencies of: All Experiments, therefore, of reforming the Conſtitution, muſt be hazardous, unleſs where the Event is clear and undiſputed: Tampering with the Laws, where our Liberties are concern'd, hath often proved of dangerous Conſequence; and whenever we come to new modelling the Conſtitution in any eſſential Point, unleſs where an apparent Neceſſity requires it, 'tis impoſſible to tell how far the Spirit of Reformation will proceed.

'I beg Pardon for taking up ſo much of your Time: As I once had the Honour to be in the Service, and under a Gentleman, whoſe good Nature and Affability muſt ever demand the Eſteem of all that know him, [*Gen. Wade*] and who is as little deſirous of graſping at an unreaſonable Power, as he is capable of miſapplying that he is already truſted with, I flatter myſelf, that during the Time I was under his Command, I learn'd a little what the Nature of an Army is; and had I ſtill been in the Service, ſo far from retiring upon this Queſtion, as has been recommended to thoſe in the Service, if Gentlemen would divide upon it, which I ſhall not believe they intend doing, 'till I ſee it done; I ſay, had I ſtill been in the Service, I ſhould have been equally ſtrenuous againſt the Queſtion; as it has always been my Opinion, that the ſureſt way to depend on any Set of Men for their acting right, is not to give them an unneceſſary Power or Temptation to do wrong.

'For theſe Reaſons I think myſelf obliged to uſe my Endeavours, that neither this, nor any other Propoſition of the like Nature, however popular they may at this or any other Time appear, ſhall ever meet with Encouragement from this Houſe.'

Mr Winington.

Sir Thomas Robinſon having done ſpeaking, Mr. Winnington ſtood up, and ſpoke againſt the Motion thus:

Sir,

'I cannot let this Queſtion go, without declaring my Abhorrence to the Motion that has been made to us: I really think it is the moſt monſtrous Motion I ever heard made, ſince I had the Honour to ſit in Parliament. Gentlemen ſay, an Army is no Part of our Conſtitution; but if the Propoſition

poſition they have made ſhould take Place, the whole of our Conſtitution would ſoon be at the Mercy of our Army. At preſent, the Officers of the Army depend upon the King for their Commiſſions, and the Army itſelf depends upon the Parliament for its Continuance, and for its Pay; but if you ſhould once make the Officers of the Army independent of the Crown, if you ſhould once give them a Sort of Freehold in their Commiſſions, they would ſoon make both King and Parliament depend upon them. If both King and Parliament ſhould join in Opinion, and think it proper to make a Reduction of any Part of our Army, do you imagine that theſe Gentlemen, with their Swords in their Hands, would quietly lay them down, and retire to their reſpective Homes at our Deſire? No, they would then tell you, our Commiſſions are for Life, they are our Freehold, a Law of your own making has made them ſo, and you ſhall not take them from us, unleſs we have been guilty of a Crime; if we have done any Wrong, let a Court Martial be called, let us be tryed in that Way which is by Law preſcribed, and if we be found guilty, we will ſubmit. This we may reaſonably ſuppoſe would be the Language of thoſe you had a mind to reduce, and in ſuch a Caſe Gentlemen may eaſily gueſs what Redreſs the Nation could expect from a Court Martial.

'The Liberties of Rome were never deſtroyed, 'till their Army was made an Army for Life; and even this Country loſt its Liberty by an Army: As ſoon as an Army was raiſed, and made independent of the Sovereign Power, they overturned the whole of our Conſtitution; they pulled a Predeceſſor of yours out of the Chair; and kick'd the Members out of Doors; and ſhall we eſtabliſh ſuch another Army? The Propoſition is ſurpriſing. I would rather lie under any Imputation, than that of having made ſuch a one to this Houſe: I am ſure it is very far from appearing to the noble Lord, who made it, in the ſame Light it does to me: I have, I think, a juſt Opinion of it; but if he had judged ſo, I am very well convinced he would never have offered it to this Houſe. However ſince the Propoſition has been made, and as every Gentleman is at Liberty to treat any Propoſition according to that Light in which it appears to him, I muſt ſay, that I look upon the Motion as monſtrous, abſurd, and ſlaviſh, and therefore I am heartily againſt it.

'If I have ſpoke with too much Warmth, I beg Pardon: I hope it will be aſcribed to my Zeal for our Conſtitution, and the preſent happy Eſtabliſhment; and not to

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any Want of Reſpect for the Gentlemen, who ſeem to favour a Propoſition, which appears to me in a Light ſo very different from that in which, I believe, it appears to them.'

Sir J. H. Bruce.

To this Speech of Mr Winnington's Sir John Hope Bruce, reply'd as follows:

Sir,

'The honourable Gentleman over the way, I muſt ſay, has ſpoke with a great deal of more Warmth than Decency, and has treated the Soldiery, both antient and modern, in a Manner which I think both ſcandalous and unjuſt. That Gentleman ſpoke of the Roman Liberty, and pretended that the Loſs of it was owing to their Army's being made an Army for Life: I can remember nothing, Sir, of an Army for Life at Rome: I do not remember that they ever had any ſuch Regulation in their Armies even as this now propoſed, which is very far from eſtabliſhing an Army for Life: On the contrary, if they had had any ſuch Regulation, I believe it would not have been in the Power of their Generals, or Emperors, to have modelled and garbled their Armies, ſo as to make them ſerve thoſe vile Purpoſes, which they were made to ſerve.

'If the Gentleman will pleaſe to read over the Roman Hiſtory with Attention, he will find, that the Loſs of the Roman Liberty was, at firſt, more owing to Bribery and Corruption in their Elections, and in their Senate, than to their Army: It was by this Bribery and Corruption that all publick Virtue was deſtroyed in that Country; and when the Virtue of the Army, as well as the People, was deſtroyed, it became an eaſy Matter to make Tools of both, for the Support of arbitrary Power.

'I have had the Honour to ſerve in our own Army: I have likewiſe, Sir, ſerved in foreign Armies, and I think I know a little of the Nature of both: From thence it is that I judge, that no Army will allow themſelves to be turned againſt the Liberties of their Country, unleſs it be left in the Power of ſome ambitious Man to model them, ſo as to make them fit for his own wicked Purpoſes: It was this that made our Army, in the laſt Century, turn againſt the Parliament which had raiſed them; and the Army will always be dangerous, as long as any ſuch Power is lodged in any one Man.

'I have the Honour, Sir, to be acquainted with many of the General Officers, as well as other Officers, in our own Army at preſent; I know their Worth and their Merit, and I ſhall never fear any thing from an Army under their

their Command and Direction: But if what has been once attempted ſhould ever be attempted again, if our Army ſhould be garbled, the Gentlemen who are now in Command turned out, and Fellows of mean Birth, or perhaps foreign Officers, put into their Places, we ſhould have every thing to fear from ſuch an Army, even though the Generality of the common Soldiers ſhould continue to be made up of our own Countrymen. Anno 7. Geo. II. 1733-34.

'Upon this Occaſion I cannot but take Notice, Sir, of what I read the other Day in a very judicious Author, who upon this very Subject ſays, 'That any Miniſter who 'adviſes the King to diſmiſs a good Officer, who has long 'and faithfully ſerved his King and Country, is guilty 'of the greateſt and blackeſt Act of Treaſon againſt his 'Prince;' and therefore, Sir, to prevent as much as poſſible the committing of any ſuch Treaſon in time to come, I ſhall be for agreeing to the Propoſition now before us.'

Mr Hugh Williams ſpoke next againſt the Motion, and after him General Wade ſtood up, and ſpoke as follows. Mr H. Williams. General Wade.

Sir,

'The Gentlemen of the Army are certainly very much obliged to the noble Lord, who made this Propoſition; and I doubt not but every one of us would be for it, if we thought it were conſiſtent with the Good of our Country. For as it is natural for all Men to deſire to be independent, it is not to be doubted, but that the Officers of the Army deſire it as much as any other Set of Men; but whether it may not be of dangerous Conſequence to make ſo great an Alteration in our Conſtitution, is what principally weighs with me; and for my own Part, I ſhall always give up any private Advantage I may expect, rather than agree to any Meaſure, which may in the leaſt endanger or hurt the Conſtitution, or the publick Intereſt of my Country.

'Since I have had the Honour, Sir, to ſit in this Houſe, I can ſay, that I have always acted with the ſame Freedom, as if I had no Commiſſion, nor any Concern in the Army; and though I have generally joined in Opinion with thoſe who were in the Adminiſtration, yet I have likewiſe upon many Occaſions differed from them.

'I remember that when the famous South-Sea-Scheme was in Agitation in this Houſe, though it was brought in by a Miniſter, and ſtrongly ſupported by thoſe who were then at the Head of the Adminiſtration, yet I had the Honour to be one of the 55 who divided againſt it. It is true, Sir, I had upon that Occaſion Meſſages ſent to me,

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and was threatned to be ſtripped of all my military Employments, but thoſe Threats had no Weight with me; nor ſhall ſuch Threats ever have any Weight with me in any Caſe where they come in Competition with my Duty as a Member of this Houſe, with my Duty as an Officer of the Army, or with my Duty as a Subject of Great Britain: And, I hope, that this is the Reſolution of every Man, who has the Honour to bear a Commiſſion in the Army.'

'Gentlemen talk of Courts Martial, and of his Majeſty's having the Power to name the Officers who are to be upon them: His Majeſty has indeed the Power of granting Warrants for the holding of Courts Martial, as often, and in ſuch Places as he ſhall pleaſe to appoint; I have myſelf a Warrant from his Majeſty for holding Courts Martial in North Britain, where I have the Honour at preſent to command: But I never did, nor does his Majeſty, ever name the Officers who are to be upon ſuch Courts Martial. That Service being performed by a Roll, as other Parts of Duty are, I have often very great Difficulty to get a ſufficient Number of Officers for holding thoſe Courts Martial; for ſometimes ſix or ſeven Captains, beſides Subalterns, will be abſent at one Time; and it is hardly poſſible now, in Time of Peace, to get them to attend their Duty, notwithſtanding the great Power the Crown has over them: Since then they are at preſent ſo negligent of their Duty, would they not be much more ſo, if they could not be diſmiſſed for Neglect of Duty, but by a Sentence of a Court Martial? If any of thoſe Officers ſhould be brought to be tried for Neglect of Duty, or any other ſuch Crime, by a Court Martial, the Majority of which might perhaps conſiſt of Officers, who had themſelves been guilty of the ſame Fault, can Gentlemen imagine, that in ſuch a Caſe any Officer would be broke, or any Way puniſhed by a Sentence of that Court Martial?

'In ſhort, Sir, the Diſcipline of our Army is already in a very bad Way, and I am afraid, if this Propoſition ſhould take Place, it would be intirely deſtroyed; for if this Propoſition ſhould paſs into a Law, it would not only take away all Dependency upon the Crown, but it would deſtroy that Subordination of inferior Officers to their Superiors, which is abſolutely neceſſary to be ſtrictly kept up in all Armies; and without which, an Army would ſoon become an unruly Mob, inſtead of being a regular, and a well-diſciplined Army; therefore, Sir, I cannot but be againſt the Propoſition.'

Mr Erle

Mr. Erle ſpoke next,

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Sir,

Mr Erle.

'As this Propoſition muſt certainly tend to the Eſtabliſhment of an Army, with too great and too independent a Power in itſelf, I muſt think it extreamly improper; and I muſt think that the honourable Gentleman, who ſpoke laſt, has very well and very juſtly obſerved, that it would deſtroy all Diſcipline in the Army, and would, I believe, introduce a general Licentiouſneſs among the Officers; for there are many Irregularities an Officer may be guilty of, which could not well be brought before a Court Martial; and if they were, the Irregularity might be ſo general, that it would be hard to get ſuch a Court Martial as would puniſh the Officer for a Crime, which perhaps every one of themſelves might be guilty of. It is well known how many Complaints there are already, both againſt Officers and Soldiers, for Irregularities committed in their Quarters; even with all the Power which his Majeſty now has over the Army, it is very hard for thoſe to whom he entruſts the chief Care and Management of his Army, to keep the Officers and Soldiers to their Duty, and to prevent their being now and then guilty of ſome little Acts of Oppreſſion in their Quarters; but if the Propoſition now made ſhould paſs into a Law, it would render the Quartering of Soldiers moſt grievous to the People; one Officer would ſay, I have made my Quarters good, as they call it, another would do the ſame; this would encourage a third, a fourth, and ſo on, 'till the Practice became general; and if they were to be tryed and puniſhed for this only by a Court Martial, can Gentlemen imagine, that they would not acquit one another? 'Tis true, Officers may have been removed without being guilty of any Crime; I was myſelf once removed, when I am ſure they could not lay any Crime to my Charge; I was then ſorry for it, but I was not for carrying my Reſentment ſo far as on that Account to turn every thing topſy-turvy; yet there was at that Time more Ground for ſuch a Propoſition than there is at preſent; there has been no garbling or removing of any conſiderable Number of Officers, and therefore I cannot find out what could give Occaſion for this Motion at this Time. Was not the great Duke of Marlborough, in the Midſt of his glorious Succeſs, removed from all Command in the Army? I believe no Man will accuſe him of having ever been guilty of a Crime, or even of a Neglect of his Duty: Was not the Man who was put in his Place juſtly ſuſpected of having Deſigns againſt the preſent happy Eſtabliſhment? nay, ſo juſtly was he ſuſpected, that when the late King came over he durſt not ſtand his Tryal, but took Guilt upon himſelf, and fled from the Juſtice of the Nation; Yet upon

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that Occaſion, there was no ſuch Propoſition as this made in Parliament. I cannot, with the honourable Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, think, that the Officers of the Army are much obliged to thoſe Gentlemen who appear in Favour of this Propoſition; on the contrary, I think, that it is entertaining a very bad Opinion at leaſt of thoſe Officers, who have the Honour of ſitting in this Houſe, to imagine, that they do not act with the ſame Integrity and Freedom that other Gentlemen do; I am ſure I ſhould not think, that any Man entertained a good Opinion of me, if he thought that I could be induced, either by Threats or Rewards, to act contrary to my Duty in this Houſe. There is not the leaſt Ground for ſuſpecting any ſuch Thing of any Gentleman of the Army who ſits in this Houſe, and therefore, I am not only againſt the Motion, but I hope that it will be treated in ſuch a Manner as may prevent its being ever renewed in this Houſe.'

Mr Pulteney.

To this Mr. Pulteney reply'd;

Sir,

'I cannot but obſerve the unhandſome Manner, in which ſome Gentlemen have treated the Motion now in your Hand, and the hard Names they have given it, ſuch as monſtrous, abſurd, ſlaviſh, and the like: I am ſure, neither the noble Lord who made the Motion, nor any of thoſe Gentlemen who have ſpoke in Support of it, can, from their Conduct in this Houſe, or in any other Part of Life, from the Families they are come of, or the large Properties they poſſeſs, be the leaſt ſuſpected of entertaining any Notions of Slavery, or of making any Motion in this Houſe for deſtroying any Part, far leſs for undermining the whole of our Conſtitution: I will avoid retorting thoſe Names, or ſaying any Thing that may give Offence, tho' I am ſure I may do it with far more Juſtice upon thoſe Gentlemen, who have taken that Liberty with others. The honourable Gentleman behind me ſpoke of Officers making their Quarters good, which is a military Term I really do not underſtand; but I ſuppoſe it is doing ſomething they ought not to do, and yet ſomething, as that Gentleman ſeemed to inſinuate, which they are ſo apt to do, that there is no preventing it without keeping them in a ſlaviſh Sort of Dependency. He told us, that he was himſelf once removed, and that he was very ſorry for it: He was, 'tis true, once removed, and that he was ſorry for it, I believe, no body will doubt; but I hope it was not for making his Quarters good; for tho' the Gentleman likes good Quarters, and knows as well when he is in ſuch as any Man, yet I am convinced, that he is incapable of doing any Thing wrong, either for obtaining Quarters, or for making them good: He likewiſe told us of the Duke

of Marlborough's having been removed; I believe no Man will ſay it was a right Step to remove that great General, but it has no Relation to the Queſtion now before us; becauſe, if I underſtood the noble Lord's Motion right, the Power of removing Generals from their Command, as Generals in the Army, is to remain in the Crown, as much unlimited as ever it was before; and it muſt be granted, that the Removal of that great Man, and the many Removals that followed, if they have any Relation to the preſent Queſtion, are ſtrong Arguments in its Favour; for, I believe, every Man who wiſhed well to the Conſtitution, would have wiſhed that ſuch a Law had been in being at that Time; and indeed all the other Arguments I have heard againſt the Propoſition, if I may be allow'd to call them ſo, are much ſtronger for it than againſt it. Anno 7. Geo. II. 1733-34.

'Gentlemen talk of invading the Prerogative, as if it were a moſt heinous Thing, to leſſen, in any Reſpect, what they call the Prerogative; but this has been already anſwered by a worthy Gentleman; he juſtly ſaid, that the Prerogative has been growing ever ſince the Revolution, and it is certain that it is daily gaining Ground both in this Houſe and the other. The Power of the Crown, every Member of this Houſe, as well as the other, ought always to be jealous of; for what by Creations and Tranſlations, it may at laſt grow ſo great, as entirely to overturn that Ballance upon which our Conſtitution depends. The Prerogative now in Diſpute, is a Prerogative of very ſhort Standing; even the Prerogative, as to the Militia, mentioned by an honourable Gentleman, has been aſſumed but of late Years; and tho' the Power of the King, as to the Militia, be very fully and explicitly declared in the two Acts that Gentleman was pleaſed to read to us, yet I hope, that neither he, nor his Friends, will recommend all the Proceedings of the Parliament in which thoſe Acts paſſed, as proper Patterns for us to imitate; nor will he deſire, that we ſhould approve of every Thing that was done at that Time in Parliament: Beſides, there is a very great Difference between the Officers of a Standing Army, and thoſe of the Militia; the firſt is both an honourable and a beneficial Employment, the laſt is become of late Years not very honourable, and I am very ſure it cannot by Law be made a beneficial Employment; ſo that the arbitrary Diſpoſal of Commiſſions in the Army, may be of much more fatal Conſequence to our Conſtitution, than the arbitrary Diſpoſal of Commiſſions in the Militia. Gentlemen have aſked us, Will you make the Officers of the Army Independent? Will you give them their Commiſſions in the Nature of a Freehold? No, by the Propoſition now made to us, they are to depend upon the King

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and Parliament as much as ever they did before upon the King ſingly: His Majeſty is ſtill to have the Power of preferring them entirely lodged in him, and his Majeſty, with the Aſſiſtance of either Houſe of Parliament, is ſtill to have the Power of removing any one, or any Number of them, without any Reaſon or Cauſe aſſigned: This is very far from making them independent; but ſuppoſe they were to be made independent both of King and Parliament, has the Parliament and People, ſupported by the King, more to dread from ſuch an Army, than the Parliament and People have to dread from an ambitious King, ſupported by an Army made, by this Power of removing and preferring, entirely dependent upon himſelf alone? An Officer, who depends upon nothing but the Laws of his Country, is engaged in Intereſt, as well as Honour, to ſupport thoſe Laws as the Tenure by which he holds his Commiſſion; but an Officer who depends entirely upon the abſolute Will of one Man, be he King, or be he chief General, is a Tenant at Will, and is in Intereſt, at leaſt, engaged to ſubmit to the Will of his Lord in every Thing: It was this that made the Army ſo pernicious about the Middle of the laſt Century; they had become entirely dependent upon their General, and then their General made what Uſe of them he had a Mind; and it was a Neglect of this Maxim, which ſaved our Conſtitution towards the End of the ſame Century, becauſe our King then began to break through the Conſtitution, before he had taken Care to make the Army entirely dependent upon himſelf alone: If that King had taken Care of the laſt before he had attempted the firſt, the Nation would now have been groaning under Popery, Slavery, and arbitrary Power; it was a moſt remarkable Fatality in the Counſels of our Oppreſſors, that ſaved the Nation at that Time; but if we do not, by our own Wiſdom and our own Conduct, prevent it for the Future, we deſerve the moſt heavy Chains that were ever laid upon any People.

'It is not intended, by the Propoſition, to give the Officers a Freehold in their Commiſſions; but if it were, can it be ſaid, it would be unjuſt? Have not many of them purchaſed their Commiſſions at a very high Price; perhaps with the whole of what they had in the World? And would it not be the Heighth of Injuſtice, that ſuch Gentlemen ſhould be turned a-drift, at the Pleaſure of a Miniſter of State? Have not many of them bought their Commiſſions by long Services, much Blood-ſhed, and many Wounds? Is not this a Purchaſe much more honourable, than that of giving a few Guineas for a Piece of Land? And muſt the Officer be turned out of his only Subſiſtence to pleaſe a peeviſh Miniſter, whilſt the Land-Purchaſer, who perhaps robb'd his Coun-

try

ry in order to purchaſe that Land, is protected by the Laws of his Country in the Poſſeſſion of his ill-gotten Purchaſe? Is this Juſtice? Or is it a ſhewing of that Reſpect which is due to thoſe who have boldly and faithfully ſerved their Country? But there is this farther Hardſhip, the Officer who is turned out, not only loſes his Bread, but his Honour may ſuffer into the Bargain; for if it is not very publickly known for what he was turned out, the malicious World may be apt to ſuſpect, that he was diſcarded for ſome very heinous and diſhonourable Crime. Some Gentlemen have already taken Notice, that there are a great many Officers of the Army who have now Seats in Parliament, and while they are allowed to ſit in this, or in either Houſe of Parliament, it is certainly to be wiſhed, that they were put upon the ſame independent Footing with other Gentlemen: I do not in the leaſt ſuſpect the Virtue of thoſe who at preſent have Seats in either Houſe of Parliament: Their Virtue is, I find, what thoſe who oppoſe the preſent Queſtion would gladly lug into the Debate: But as neither their Virtue nor Honour has any Thing to do in the Queſtion, I may freely ſay, that when Gentlemen either now, or hereafter, have their Whole at Stake, and ſee by the Example of others, the Danger of pretending to contradict an inſolent Miniſter in any of the moſt wicked of his Meaſures, it is putting their Virtue to too great a Trial; it is more than human Frailty can well ſupport; and I am ſure he muſt be very little acquainted with the Nature of Mankind, who thinks that the Conſtitution, and the Happineſs of his Country, may ſafely depend upon the Event of ſuch a Trial. The honourable Gentleman over the Way, who is in the Army, and who I am ſure, has acted with as much Honour in this Houſe as any Gentleman in it, has given us an unanſwerable Argument in Favour of the Propoſition now before us: He has told us, that when he oppoſed a Scheme, which he thought a pernicious Scheme, and which afterwards moſt effectually proved ſo, he was ſent to and threatened with the Loſs of all his Employments in the Army, becauſe that Scheme was brought in and ſupported by a Miniſter: He had, 'tis true, Virtue to withſtand thoſe Threats; but it cannot be ſuppoſed that every Man has the ſame Virtue; and what he has now told us is an evident Demonſtration, that this pretended Prerogative of removing Officers at Pleaſure, may by a Miniſter be made uſe of to obtain the Approbation of Parliament to the moſt deſtructive Schemes he can invent.

'We know that the late King William was once applied to by ſome of his Miniſters, to remove an Officer of his Army, becauſe of a Vote he had given in this Houſe: But that Prince,

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Prince, like a great and a wiſe King, anſwered, 'I ſup-
'poſe the Gentleman voted according to what appeared
'juſt and right to him at that Time; I know him to be a
'brave and a good Officer, and one who has always done
'his Duty in his military Capacity; I have nothing to do
'with his Behaviour in Parliament, and therefore I will not
'remove him from his Command in the Army.' His late
Majeſty was ſo ſenſible of the Neceſſity of what is now pro-
poſed, that he approved of a Bill of this very Nature; the
Bill was actually drawn up, and was to have been brought
into the other Houſe by the late Earl Stanhope: This I
know to be true, I do not know how it was prevented, but
I know that his late Majeſty chearfully gave his Conſent for
the bringing it into Parliament.

'The honourable Gentleman who ſpoke laſt ſaid, that
thoſe Gentlemen who are for the preſent Queſtion uſed the
Officers ill, but I leave it to the impartial World, I leave it
to the Officers themſelves, to judge which Side uſes them
worſt: Thoſe who ſay they ought to be ſecured againſt the
Reſentment of a tyrannical Miniſter, or thoſe who tell us,
you are to expect no Juſtice from Officers ſitting in a Court
Martial, notwithſtanding their being ſworn to do the ſame
Juſtice, and to try with the ſame Impartiality, that Judges
and Juries ought, and are ſuppoſed to do: You are not to
truſt to Officers, they will certainly combine together, and
deſtroy your Conſtitution; there is nothing can keep 'em
honeſt or faithful to their Country, but keeping them in a
ſlaviſh Dependence upon the Crown. Has not this been the
whole Language of thoſe, who have hitherto oppoſed this
Queſtion? And I do not doubt but the Officers of the Army
will judge of the Argument as they ought to do. I have
ſpoke much earlier in this Debate than I intended, and I
muſt ſay, that I had but very little Room from any Thing
that has been ſaid againſt the Propoſition, to have taken up
ſo much of your Time; but I find ſome Gentlemen do not
incline to ſpeak to the Queſtion; however, if they do not,
if no better Reaſons be given againſt it than what have
been already given, I am perſuaded the Fate of the Queſtion
muſt be very different from what they expect.'

Mr H. Pelham.

Mr. Henry Pelham ſpoke next as follows;

Sir,

'I have attended cloſely to what has been ſaid both for and
againſt the Propoſition now before us, and I think the De-
bate is now reduced to this ſingle Point, Whether, by what
is now propoſed, our Conſtitution may be mended and made
better, or whether it may not rather tend to hurt and injure
our Conſtitution? The latter, is my Opinion, and I am
convinced it appears in the ſame Light to every one of the
Gentlemen,

Gentlemen, who before me have ſpoken againſt the Motion. I do not approve of hard Names, or any Names that are indecent, to this or any other Propoſition made in this Houſe; but as thoſe Liberties have often been taken, by the Gentlemen who now find Fault with what has been ſaid, it may be ſuppoſed that other Gentlemen think they have the ſame Liberty, and may retort thoſe Names, when they think the Propoſition deſerves them; however upon all ſuch Occaſions, at leaſt upon the preſent, nothing is meant perſonally againſt any of the Gentlemen who have ſpoken in Favour of the Propoſition. Gentlemen have ſaid, that the Prerogative is a growing Part of our Conſtitution; but I cannot really ſee wherein the Prerogative of the Crown is greater now, than at any Time ſince the Revolution; nor can I ſee what ſhould give this Alarm, or what ſhould make it neceſſary now to clip and pare the Prerogative of the Crown, unleſs Gentlemen have ſome Scheme for greatly, or perhaps totally altering our Conſtitution; and if they have, I am ſure they can ſhew us no Manner of Reaſon for our attempting at preſent to make any ſuch dangerous Experiment. Suppoſe his Majeſty has thought fit to remove one or two Gentlemen from their Employments in the Army, can that be looked on, as a ſufficient Reaſon from taking from his Majeſty that Power he and his Predeceſſors have always enjoy'd? The very Attempting ſuch a thing looks as if Gentlemen thought ſome very wrong and wicked Uſe, has been lately made of that Part of the Prerogative, which, in the preſent Caſe, they have not the leaſt Ground for. The Worth and Honour of the two noble Perſons who have been removed, muſt be acknowledged by all; but, worthy as they are, it muſt certainly be granted, that they have been ſucceeded by two Gentlemen of equal Worth; and ſure this cannot be called garbling, or modelling the Army; for the Army can never be ſaid to be garbled or modelled, but when the moſt worthy and honourable are diſmiſſed, and Creatures of mean Birth, or of no Worth, put into their Places. It is true, there were a great many Officers removed at the Time that the Duke of Marlborough was removed, and without the Power of removing the inferior Officers, they had not perhaps ventured to have removed that great General from his Command. Such a Law, as now propoſed, might have been of ſome Service at that Time, but it would have been of bad Conſequence ſoon after. We know what were thought to be the Views and Deſigns, when the Duke of Marlborough was removed; we know, that he was ſucceeded by a Perſon, whom I did indeed eſteem for his perſonal Qualifications, but his political Views had, at that Time, very near ruined our Conſtitution, and have ſince

upon

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upon ſome Occaſions greatly endangered it; and if none of the Officers of the Army, who were upon that Occaſion put in or continued in Commiſſion, could have been removed but by the Sentence of a Court Martial, I doubt much, if this Houſe had been now ſitting to give their Opinion upon this or any other Queſtion.

'An honourable Gentleman on the Floor, who ſpoke ſome Time ago, happened to drop ſome Expreſſions, which I am ſure were owing to his Warmth; he ſpoke of Foreign Officers, and inſinuated as if they might happen to be put into the Places of thoſe, who may hereafter be removed. Every Gentleman ſurely knows, that this would be directly contrary to Law; and no Man can ſay, that there has been any Thing done or attempted, that can give the leaſt Ground for apprehending any ſuch Thing in Time to come: It was indeed an indecent and an ugly Inſinuation; I wiſh the Gentleman had ſpared it; but as I am convinced that it was entirely owing to Warmth, I ſhall take no farther Notice of it. I did really think it unneceſſary to have given you any Trouble in this Debate, ſince other Gentlemen before me have given ſufficient Reaſons for not agreeing to this Motion, and have anſwered every Thing ſaid in Favour of it; but the honourable Gentleman, who ſpoke laſt, ſeemed ſo mighty deſirous, that Gentlemen would ſpeak againſt what he and his Friends ſeem to be for, that I roſe up rather to gratify him, than that I thought any Thing neceſſary to be added to what had before been ſaid againſt this Propoſition; and therefore I ſhall take up no more of your Time, but leave the Propoſition to ſtand or fall by its own Merits.'

Then Sir William Wyndham ſtood up and ſaid,

Sir W. Wyndham.

Sir,

'The Gentlemen, who have been pleaſed to ſpeak againſt this Propoſition, have all of them aſſerted, that, ſhould it take place, it would alter the very Being of our Conſtitution; from whence we muſt conclude, that theſe Gentlemen think, that the very Being of our Conſtitution conſiſts not only in having a Standing Army, but it conſiſts alſo in having that Army abſolutely and entirely dependent on the Crown; which is an Opinion ſo directly contrary to that which every Man ought to have about our Conſtitution, that I am ſorry to hear of its being entertained by any Gentleman, who has the Honour of being a Member of this Houſe. I wiſh thoſe Gentlemen would conſider a little better the Nature and the Being of our Conſtitution, and the many Alterations that have from Time to Time crept into it; if they do they will find no greater Novelty, nor can they find one more dangerous, than that of a Standing Army. It is not as yet, I hope, a Part of our Conſtitution, and there-

fore,

fore, what is now propoſed cannot be an Alteration of our Conſtitution; it is indeed ſo far otherwiſe, that the very Deſign of it is to prevent our Conſtitution's being altered, by a Standing Army's being hereafter made a Part of it; or at leaſt to make that Army leſs dangerous, in caſe it ſhould become abſolutely neceſſary for us always to keep up a Standing Army. We have likewiſe been told, that the Prerogative is a Part of our Conſtitution, and the leſſening the Power of the Crown, or robbing the Crown of its Prerogative, as Gentlemen have been pleaſed to call it, is an Alteration of our Conſtitution. For my own Part, I have no Notion of any legal Power or Prerogative, but what is for the Benefit of the Community; nor do I think, that any Power can be legal, but what is originally derived from the Community; and it is certain, that all the Power that is, or can be given by the People, muſt be given for their own Protection and Defence: Therefore, if the People ſhould afterwards find that they have given too much, if they ſhould begin to foreſee, that the Power they have given may come to be of dangerous Conſequence to themſelves; have not they Reaſon, have not they a Right, to take back what Part of it they think neceſſary for their own Safety? This is the proper Footing, upon which the preſent Debate ought to be put; and taking it upon this Footing, ſuppoſe, that this Power of removing the Officers of the Army were a Part of the ancient Prerogative of the Crown; if the Parliament ſhould foreſee, that this Power might be made a bad Uſe of; that it might eaſily be turned towards enſlaving the People, would not the People have a Right to take it from the Crown? would it not be their Duty to do ſo? nay, ought not the Crown willingly and freely to give it up?

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'Gentlemen have next endeavoured to frighten us with the Effects of this Propoſition, ſhould it be paſſed into a Law: They ſay we ſhould ſoon ſee what ſuch an Independence in the Army would turn to; but, for God's Sake, is not the Army to be ſtill as much dependent upon King and Parliament, as ever they were before? If it ſhould be but ſuſpected, that any Officer, or any Number of Officers, were going to attempt any Thing againſt King and Parliament, could not the King immediately ſuſpend them, or even put them under Arreſt? and could not the Parliament, as ſoon as they met, addreſs his Majeſty to remove them? Upon this Occaſion, I ſhall beg Leave to ſtate the Difference of the two Caſes: In the one Caſe, an Army entirely dependent on the Crown, ſo much at the Mercy of the Crown, that, let the Merit of thoſe Gentlemen in their military Capacity be never ſo great; let their Fidelity to their King and Country be never ſo conſpicuous; let their paſt Services

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be never ſo meritorious; yet, if they do not implicitly obey all the Orders they ſhall receive from the Crown, or rather from the favourite Miniſter of the Crown; if they do not ſubmit to propagate the moſt ſlaviſh Schemes of a projecting Miniſter, they may probably be turned out of their Employments in the Army; and thus, after having wore out their Youth and Vigour in the Service of their Country, they may at laſt, and in their Old Age, be turned adrift, and reduced to a ſtarving Condition. In the other Caſe, an Army under no ſuch ſervile Dependence, having no Reaſon to doubt of Preferment according to their Merit, and certain they could not be turned out of the Places they have purchaſed by their long Services, without being guilty of ſome Crime, or of diſhonourable Behaviour; and having the Conſtitution, and the Laws of their Country, as a Security for their enjoying all thoſe Advantages as long as they live; is it not, an eaſy Matter to determine, in which of theſe Caſes an Army may be of moſt Danger, or of moſt Service, to the Conſtitution of this Country.

'I will allow all that has been ſaid about the Virtue of thoſe, who are at preſent the Officers of our Army; about their being Engliſhmen, and every Thing elſe, that has been ſaid, or can be ſaid, in Favour of the Characters of thoſe Gentlemen; but ſtill they are Men, and every Body knows, that thoſe who have a Dependence, perhaps for the whole they have in the World, muſt be ſomething more than Men, if they act with the ſame Freedom, that they would do if they were under no ſuch Influence or Dependence: It is certain; I hope the Gentlemen of the other Side of the Queſtion, even thoſe Gentlemen who now ſtand up ſo zealouſly for the Prerogative, will grant, that ours is a limited Monarchy: Our Conſtitution depends upon its not being in the Power of the Crown, to break thro' thoſe Limits which are preſcribed by Law, or to manage ſo as to render them quite ineffectual; for when either of theſe comes to be the Caſe, our Conſtitution will be at an End; the Monarchy can no longer be ſaid to be limited, any more than a Man can be ſaid to be under any Reſtraint, who, tho' lock'd up in a Room, has the Keys in his Pocket, and may open the Doors when he pleaſes, or has proper Materials at hand, and may break the Doors open, and walk out whenever he has a Mind. We are therefore never to give a Power to the Crown; we ought not to leave the Crown in the Poſſeſſion of a Power, which may enable any future King to ſhake off all thoſe Limitations, which the Royal Power ought by our Conſtitution to be ſubject to: And in this View I leave it to every Gentleman to conſider, whether a Standing Army, under the preſent Circumſtances, or under the Regulations

now

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now propoſed, does portend moſt Danger to our Conſtitution? For my own Part, I think the Caſe ſo plain, I think the Dangers pretended, from what is now propoſed, ſo chimerical, that I am ſurprized to hear the Motion oppoſed by any Gentleman, who pretends to have the Liberties, or the Happineſs of his Country truly at Heart.

'But in particular, I muſt at preſent obſerve, that if no Notice ſhould be taken of what has lately happened; if no ſuch Proviſion, as is intended by the Bill now moved for, ſhould be made, and we ſhould enter into a War, as is now likely we may be obliged to do, what Encouragement can young Gentlemen of noble and ancient Families have to go into the Army; when they conſider, that after having often ventured their Lives in the Service of their Country, after having honourably acquired ſome Preferment in the Army, and afterwards, by a natural and Family-Intereſt, are come to have Seats in Parliament, they muſt then be obliged to forfeit all thoſe Preferments they have ſo honourably acquired, or otherwiſe to make themſelves Proſtitutes to an infamous and wicked Adminiſtration? After this melancholy Conſideration, can it be preſumed, that any Gentleman of Honour will engage with that Alacrity in the Army, as he would do, if he were aſſured of preſerving and enjoying whatever Poſts he may have in the Army, with the ſame Honour and Integrity, with which he acquired them? This makes it more particularly neceſſary at preſent to agree to the Propoſition now made to us; and as I think it makes no Encroachment upon our Conſtitution, but is, upon the contrary, a very neceſſary Amendment; as I think it for the Honour of Parliament, and no way inconſiſtent with the Honour or Safety of the Crown, I ſhall therefore moſt heartily agree to it.'

Sir William Yonge ſpoke next:

Sir W. Yonge.

Sir,

'It is ſaid, I remember, in a printed Paper which I read lately, that the Revolution had not brought our Conſtitution to that Perfection which it ought to have done; but that ſome Amendments were ſtill wanting, and ſeemed to be abſolutely neceſſary. I was indeed at ſome Loſs to think what the Amendments could poſſible be, which thoſe reforming Genius's pointed at, but now the Secret is in ſome part out; for the Propoſition now in Debate I verily believe to be one of thoſe neceſſary Amendments they thought of; but the Gentlemen, who have ſpoke before me, have ſufficiently proved, that this Amendment would be ſo far from improving our Conſtitution, or rendering it more ſecure, that it would in a great Meaſure entirely deſtroy it: And if the other Amendments, their Wiſdoms have projected, be

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of the ſame Nature with this, I am afraid the People of England will not think themſelves much obliged to them, for projecting ſuch Amendments. We know, that the People of this Nation have generally been divided into Parties, and that Party which I have always been proud to reckon myſelf one of, has generally, tho' very wrongfully, been called the Republican Party; but if I, or any other Gentleman in this Houſe, who has the Honour of being reputed a Whigg, ſhould come into this Propoſition, we ſhould juſtly deſerve that Name, which thoſe of another Party have always given us by way of Reproach; for it is certain, that, if this Propoſition ſhould take Place, our chief Magiſtrate could not properly be called a King; he would not have ſo much Power left him, as the Stadtholder of the Republick of Holland has always enjoyed. The honourable Gentleman, who ſpoke laſt, inſiſted much upon the Danger of an Army depending upon the Crown, and talked of turning Officers adrift, and reducing them to a ſtarving Condition; but let us conſult our Hiſtories, and ſee whether an Army depending upon the Crown, or one depending upon the Parliament, has done moſt Harm to our Conſtitution: We ſhall there ſee, that an Army of the latter Kind was ſo far from improving, or doing Good to our Conſtitution, that they very quickly overturned it; they ſoon brought the King from the Throne to the Scaffold; they turned both Lords and Commons out of Doors, and then ſet up a moſt arbitrary Government of their own: Whereas an Army of the firſt Kind has often preſerved the Conſtitution; an Army much more dependent upon the Crown, than our Army is at preſent, was, we know, ſo far from ſupporting the Crown in Attempts againſt the Liberties of the People, that moſt of the Army joined with the People in vindicating their Liberties, even againſt a King upon whom they had a moſt abſolute Dependence; and while our Army conſiſts only of our own Countrymen, and is commanded by Gentlemen of good Families and Fortunes in the Kingdom, we may always expect from them the ſame honourable Behaviour. As for turning Officers adrift, and reducing them to a ſtarving Condition, it is certain that no ſuch Thing can ever happen to any Officer that is a Member of this Houſe, let him vote or behave in this Houſe in what ever Manner he will; for his very Qualification, the Eſtate he muſt have in his own Right and Poſſeſſion, in order to qualify him for having a Seat in Parliament, will always be ſufficient to afford him a comfortable Subſiſtence; ſo that if he has any Honour or Regard to his Country, the Fear of being turned out of his Poſt in the Army can never prevail upon him to give a Vote in this Houſe contrary to what he thinks right.

And

And if we can ſuppoſe that any Officer, who is now, or ever may be in this Houſe, has neither Honour nor Regard to his Country, with ſuch a Man the Hopes of Preferment will work as effectually, as the Fear of extreme Neceſſity can be ſuppoſed to work with any Man of common Honour; but as no ſuch Thing can, in my Opinion, be ſuppoſed, we have no Occaſion to give ourſelves any Trouble, much leſs to run ourſelves into evident Dangers, in order to provide againſt it. In ſhort, I ſee no Neceſſity for our making ſuch an Alteration in our Conſtitution; I can ſee no Cauſe for our making ſuch an Attack upon the Prerogative; it may be productive of great Miſchiefs, but cannot produce any Good. And as for uſing the Officers ill, the Gentlemen of the Army, who are now in the Houſe, are themſelves the beſt Judges by which Side of the Queſtion they are worſt uſed; and their Way of Voting upon this Queſtion will be the beſt Proof of their Judgment in that particular: As for my own part, I really think the Propoſition ſo unreaſonable, and ſo inconſiſtent with the Principles, even of thoſe Gentlemen who ſupport it, that I did not at firſt believe it could have bore ſo long a Debate.'

Sir Thomas Saunderſon ſpoke next for the Motion; Lord Glenorchy againſt it; Sir John Barnard for it; Col. Mordaunt and Mr. Duncan Forbes againſt it: Then Sir Robert Walpole ſpoke againſt the Motion as follows:

Sir T. Saunderſon. Lord Glenorchy. Sir J. Barnard. Col. Mordaunt. Mr D. Forbes.

Sir,

Sir R. Walpole.

'When I firſt heard that ſuch a Motion, as what is now before us, was to be made to this Houſe, I conſider'd with myſelf, what it was that had given Occaſion for Gentlemen's thinking of making ſuch an Innovation in our Conſtitution, what View or Deſign they had, and what Form of Government they aim'd at; as to all which Particulars I found myſelf entirely at a Loſs. We have heard of Monarchies, Ariſtocracies, Democracies, of Oligarchies and Anarchies; but ſhould this Propoſition take Place, I am perſuaded, the Government of this Country would ſoon become what may be call'd a Stratocracy, an Army-Government, which is a Sort of Government was never yet eſtabliſh'd in any Country; and ſuch a Government as, I believe, no Man in this Nation would be fond of: I ſhall not run out in Compliments to the Gentlemen of the Army, but I hope thoſe Gentlemen will not take it amiſs, if I ſay, that I do not deſire to give up our preſent Form of Government, in order to come under their Government.

'As for Trials by Martial Law, I believe no Gentleman will diſpute, but that they have hitherto been very juſt and impartial; but if the Officers ſhould be once made independent of all other Power, we do not know what thoſe Trials

might

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might turn to: I neither can, nor ſhall ſay any Thing to reflect upon the Gentlemen who are Judges in ſuch Trials, but we muſt all allow, that the Nature of Mankind is ſuch, that every one has an Attachment to, and a Byaſs in Favour of thoſe he looks on to be of the ſame Body with himſelf, Merchants, Lawyers, even the meaneſt Sort of Tradeſmen ſhew a Partiality in Favour of one another; and why we ſhould look upon the Officers of the Army to be leſs liable to thoſe natural Partialities than any other Set of Men, I cannot really ſee any Reaſon for; therefore I am apt to believe, that if this Propoſition ſhould be once paſſ'd into a Law, it would not be poſſible to remove any Officer from his Commiſſion by the Sentence of a Court-Martial, as long as he preſerved a Character and an Intereſt in the Army, which of courſe would encourage them in the boldeſt Attempts, againſt the Conſtitution and the Government of their Country.

'Gentlemen have told us, that Generals are ſtill to be removeable by the King at Pleaſure, and that all other Officers are ſtill to be removeable by his Majeſty and the Parliament; but I believe it will be granted, that though the King ſhould moſt evidently ſee a very juſt Cauſe for removing a General Officer, he might not find it ſafe to do ſo, without removing at the ſame Time a great Number of inferior Officers, whom he knew to be Dependent upon that General, and perhaps aſſociated with him in the ſame wicked Deſigns: And if Officers were made ſecure of their Commiſſions for Life, it would add ſo much Weight to their Intereſt through the whole Kingdom, that they might ſoon get ſuch an Influence in both Houſes of Parliament, as would make it impoſſible to procure an Addreſs from either Houſe, for the Removal of any of them; beſides, the very calling of the Parliament together, which cannot be done ſuddenly, would give the Alarm to thoſe Officers who might be engaged in a Conſpiracy for ſeizing the Government into their own Hands, whereby they would have an Opportunity of carrying their Deſigns into Execution, before the Government could by any Means prevent them.

'Thus we ſhould be in continual Danger of falling entirely under the Government of our Army, and I am ſure there is nothing has of late happen'd, that can give Occaſion for our running ourſelves into any ſuch Danger. What tho' his Majeſty has lately thought fit to remove two Gentlemen from their Commands in the Army: Can the removing of two Gentlemen only, in a Courſe of ſo many Years, be call'd modelling or garbling the Army? Can it be ſaid, that the Gentlemen who have ſucceeded them, are not Men of as good Families, of as great Eſtates, and of as untainted Characters, as any

Gentlemen

Gentlemen in the Kingdom? Surely, this cannot be call'd garbling, which, as has been already ſaid, muſt imply the Removal of the moſt Worthy, and putting the moſt Unworthy into their Places; and this, I am convinced, the angrieſt Man in this Houſe will not pretend to be the Caſe at preſent.

'It is certain, there never were any Removals made, but what occaſioned various Speculations, when the Reaſons why they were made were not publickly known; In ſuch Caſes, every Man who is ignorant of the true Reaſon, is apt to aſſign ſome Reaſons of his own Invention; but of all the Removals that I have ever heard of, whatever Talk they might occaſion without Doors, there never was any of them that occaſion'd any Propoſition or Motion in this Houſe; no Pretence was ever taken from any ſuch, to rob the Crown of its Prerogative, or to alter our Conſtitution in any Part. Even when the great Duke of Marlborough was removed, there was no ſuch Propoſition as this ever thought on: The Removal of that great Man I remember well; and I remember too the Arts, that were uſed by his Enemies, firſt, to procure, and then to juſtify his Removal. What Gentlemen would do by the Bill now propoſed, was the very Crime pretended to be laid to his Charge: It was pretended, that he was contriving how to get himſelf made General for Life: That he was become too great for his Miſtreſs; and had thrown of all Dependence on the Crown: That he aim'd at being made perpetual Dictator; and to give ſome Sort of Colour for the ſpreading of this Calumny, I remember, that a certain zealous Gentleman of thoſe Days, ſent a large Preſent to Mr. Booth, and told him, it was for the Part he acted in the Tragedy of Cato, againſt the perpetual Dictator. This ſhews, that it was then look'd on as a great Crime for an Officer to endeavour to be independent of the Crown; and why it ſhould now appear in a Light ſo different, as to make People think it neceſſary to make a Law for that very Purpoſe, I cannot imagine.

'We know that great Endeavours have been of late uſed, to make it be believed abroad, that this is a divided Nation, that the People are diſaffected: Hitherto all ſuch Endeavours have had but very little Effect; but if this Propoſition ſhould paſs into a Law, will not Foreigners have Reaſon to believe what they have heard? They cannot imagine, that the removing two Colonels of Regiments, could have produced ſuch a Law, but will naturally ſay, what we have heard we ſee now to be true, the Parliament has no Confidence in the King, and therefore they have taken from him that Power which all his Predeceſſors enjoy'd. Is this, Sir, an Opinion which we ought at any Time to encourage or promote

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promote among our Neighbours abroad, but especially at present, when a just Opinion of the Unanimity and Strength of this Nation may be so necessary for preserving a just Ballance of Power in Europe, and consequently, the very Being of this Nation.

'In short, the Regulation now proposed can produce no Good, it may produce a Multitude of Mischiefs, and therefore I think we should all say, upon this Occasion, *Nolumus Leges Angliæ mutari.*'

Lord Catherlogh.

Lord Catherlogh spoke next:

Sir,

'I cannot but say, that the Officers of the Army are very much obliged to the Gentlemen, who are for agreeing to the Proposition now before you; but I look upon it as a certain Maxim, that no Man can be a proper Judge in his own Cause, and as I have the Honour to be in the Army, I look upon myself as a Party concerned, and therefore I think can neither in Honour nor Conscience offer to give my Vote upon the Question.

Then the Question was put upon the Motion, and carried in the Negative, without a Division.

After this Mr Sandys stood up and spoke as follows:

Mr Sandys moves for an Address to the King, to know who advis'd his Majesty to remove the Duke of Bolton and Ld. Cobham from their Regiments.

Sir,

'What gave Rise to the Proposition last before you, I believe most Gentlemen in this House may easily guess; it was often mention'd in the last Debate: And as in the Course of that Debate, no Gentleman pretended to justify what has lately happened, I have a Question in my Hand which I hope will meet with no Opposition, and therefore, I shall take the Liberty to move, That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, humbly to desire his Majesty, that he will be graciously pleased to inform this House, by whose Advice it was, that his Majesty was pleased to discharge his Grace, Charles Duke of Bolton, and the Right honourable Richard, Lord Viscount Cobham, from the Regiments lately under their several Commands; and what Crimes were alledged against them, which were the Occasion thereof.'

Debate thereon.

This Motion was seconded by Mr. Pulteney thus:

Mr Pulteney.

Sir,

'I stand up, to second the Motion made by my worthy Friend, which, I hope, will meet with much better Success than the last Motion we had before us: The last, indeed, was call'd, by some Gentlemen, an Attack upon the Prerogative, an Affront to the Crown, and a great many other hard Names, which I thought it very little deserved; but I am sure there cannot be the least Colour of Reason for making such Objections, or for giving such Names to the Motion now made to you: On the contrary, it is shewing a great

great Tenderneſs and a moſt dutiful Reſpect to his Majeſty : The Removal of thoſe two noble Lords from their Commands in the Army, was what no Gentleman in the late Debate ſo much as endeavoured to excuſe ; moſt ſeemed rather to condemn, and all the World without Doors had, we know, before condemned it. Since then the Removal of thoſe two noble Lords is look'd on to be a wrong Step, and ſince his Majeſty cannot by Law be ſuppoſed to do any Wrong, we ought therefore, in Duty to the Crown, to preſent ſuch an Addreſs as is now propoſed to us, that his Majeſty may be freed from the Suſpicion of doing any Thing that is wrong ; that the wicked Perſon who adviſed it may be pointed out to the World, and that the Reproach of ſuch a Meaſure may fall where it ought. Anno 7. Geo. II. 1733-34.

'If ever it ſhould happen to be the Caſe of this Nation, that a Miniſter grown inſolent in Power, ſhould dare to tell his Maſter, if you do not diſmiſs ſuch a Man, or ſuch another, I muſt abandon you, I can no longer ſupport your Government ; and by ſuch Language ſhould prevail on him to diſmiſs ſome of his moſt faithful Servants, only becauſe they had honourably oppoſed ſome wicked Attempt upon the Liberties of their Country : I ſay, if ever any one Miniſter, who ſolely engroſſed the Ear of his Maſter, ſhould arrive at ſuch an Inſolence in Power, the King would no longer be the firſt Man, he would be the firſt Slave in the Nation ; and in ſuch a Caſe would it not be the Duty of Parliament ? Would not they be bound in Duty both to their Country and King, to deſire to know who it was that adviſed ſuch Meaſures ? And what were the Reaſons for taking ſuch ? This is not, I hope, the Caſe at preſent, but as the Removing of thoſe two noble Lords has been condemned by the whole Nation, it is ſufficient for juſtifying us in the Application now propoſed : Let us know who gave the Advice ; it was a wicked one, and the Wickedneſs of it will be ſtill more apparent, if it ſhall appear, that thoſe who gave it dare not avow their Reaſons for giving it.'

No Member riſing up to oppoſe this Motion, but the Queſtion being call'd, Sir William Wyndham ſtood up, and ſpoke as follows :

Sir,

'Whether or no there are any Gentlemen in the Houſe againſt the Queſtion, cannot, as yet, be determined ; but if there are, I was in Hopes they would have ſtood up, and have given the Houſe ſome Satisfaction as to their Reaſons for being againſt a Queſtion, which ſeems to be highly approved of by ſeveral Gentlemen in this Houſe. What the Cauſe of their Silence may be, I ſhall not pretend to Wm. Wyndham.

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gueſs, but it ſeems we are to have no other Satisfaction from them, but only a Call for the Queſtion.

'In my Opinion, the Affair now before us deſerves a much more decent Treatment, if it were for no other Reaſon, but becauſe the Names of two noble Lords are mentioned in the Queſtion, both of whom have done great Services to their Country, but one in particular. As I do not mean to compliment the one, nor to depreciate the Services of the other, therefore I ſay they have both done great Services, though in different Capacities; but whoever remembers the late War, which was carried on ſo much to the Honour of this Nation, muſt remember how often honourable Mention was then made in our Gazetts of Sir Richard Temple: In moſt of the Accounts tranſmitted to us from Flanders, either of Battles or Sieges, his Name generally ſtood among the foremoſt in the Liſt of thoſe gallant Officers, who bravely ventured their Lives in the Service of their Country. And if we look upon his Behaviour in the Senate, it is as much to his Honour as his Service in the Field: In the laſt he has always acted as a good Officer and a brave Soldier, in the Defence of his Country; in the firſt he has always behaved as a faithful Subject and a good Counſellor to his King; and that ſuch a Man ſhould be one of the firſt to fall a Sacrifice to miniſterial Reſentment, is what muſt give a juſt Alarm to all the honeſt Part of Mankind: It is what principally gave Riſe to this Day's Debate, and, in particular, to the Motion now before you, which I very much approve of, and if no Gentleman thinks fit to ſay any thing againſt it, I can hardly doubt of it's being unanimouſly agreed to.'

Sir William Wyndham having done ſpeaking, the Queſtion was again call'd for, and being put, it was carried in the Negative by 252 againſt 193.

Debate on a Bill for limiting the Number of Officers in the Houſe of Commons.

Feb. 15. the Houſe ordered, That Leave be given to bring in a Bill for ſecuring the Freedom of Parliament, by limiting the Number of Officers in that Houſe; and that Mr Sandys, Mr Wortley, and Mr Cholmondley, do prepare and bring in the ſame.

Feb. 19. The ſaid Bill was preſented to the Houſe by Mr Sandys, read the 1ſt Time, and ordered to be read a 2d Time.

Feb. 26. The ſaid Bill was read a ſecond Time; and upon Mr Sandys moving to have it committed, the ſame was oppos'd by Mr Haye, who was ſeconded by Mr Campbell of Pembrokeſhire, as follows:

Mr Haye.
Mr J. Campbell.

Sir,

'In my Opinion, this Bill is one of the moſt extraordinary and moſt unreaſonable Bills I have ever ſeen brought into Parliament. It is, I think, not only unreaſonable, but in ſo

veral Reſpects unjuſt: For as to the Electors, the People of Great Britain, it is certain, that they are the beſt, and indeed the only proper Judges, who are the moſt capable, and the moſt proper Perſons to repreſent them in Parliament; and for us to pretend, by a Law, to lay a Reſtraint upon them in their Choice, is certainly doing them very great Injuſtice. If the People, the Electors of any Shire, City, or Borough, make Choice of a Gentleman to repreſent them in Parliament, who has an Employment in the Government, that very Choice is a ſufficient Proof that they do not think the Service of their Country in Parliament, and the Service of the Crown incompatible: And the Law has already wiſely provided, that in caſe any Gentleman accepts of a Place, or an Employment in the Government, after he has been choſen a Member of Parliament, his Seat in Parliament ſhall thereby be vacated; he muſt return to his Country, City, or Borough, to be rechoſen; and if they again chuſe him, it is a certain Sign, that they continue to think him the moſt proper Perſon to repreſent them, notwithſtanding his having accepted of a Place or Employment under the Crown. Then as to the Gentlemen who are now, or may hereafter be in Offices, Civil or Military, under the Crown, it is certain, that they generally are Gentlemen of Families, and many of them have very large Properties in their Country. Have not they therefore as good a Right to ſtand Candidates for being choſen Members of Parliament, as any of thoſe Gentlemen who are out of Employment? And if the People do them the Honour to chuſe them, why ſhould we, by a Law, deprive them of that Honour, which the People have thought fit to confer upon them? Is it not robbing them of a Part, at leaſt, of thoſe Rights which they have a juſt Title to as Engliſhmen, or as Free Britons?

'By this Bill, I muſt likewiſe think, there is a very great Piece of Injuſtice done to the Crown; I cannot but think it a very extraordinary Thing to put ſuch a Mark of Diſgrace upon all the Officers employed by the Crown, as to exclude them from the Right of having Seats in Parliament, and that for no other Reaſon but becauſe the King has thought them worthy of ſerving their Country in ſome Office, Civil or Military, under him. It is, really, not only putting an Affront upon his preſent Majeſty, but even upon the Crown itſelf, and rendering it impoſſible for our Government to ſubſiſt under its preſent Form; for if ſuch an Ignominy ſhall be put upon all thoſe, who ſhall accept of any Employment under the Crown, as to render them incapable of ſerving their Country in Parliament, which is one of the higheſt Honours a Gentleman can have in this Country, what Gen-

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tleman of Family or Fortune, of Honour or Capacity, will accept of any Employment under the Crown? And thus by rendering it impoſſible for the King to get any Man of Family or Fortune, of Honour or Capacity, to ſerve under him, you will render it impoſſible for our Government or Conſtitution to ſubſiſt under its preſent Monarchical Form.

'Should the Bill now before us paſs into a Law, I think it is eaſy to foreſee the Conſequence. It would bring the Houſe of Commons into the higheſt Contempt, or it would bring all thoſe Gentlemen, who accept of any Offices in the Government, Civil or Military, under Contempt. It is natural for every Man to endeavour to render contemptible that Honour, that Poſt, or that Thing, which he knows he cannot attain to: The Gentlemen of the Army, the Navy, or in Civil Offices, knowing that by Law they were all abſolutely excluded from the Honour of having Seats in the Houſe of Commons, would all join together in endeavouring to render the Houſe contemptible in the Eyes of the People; and we need not doubt, but that the Clergy would join with the reſt, becauſe, I think, they are already excluded: On the other Hand, the Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons, and thoſe who might continue to be elegible into this Houſe, would endeavour to ſupport the Honour of this Houſe, by endeavouring to render contemptible all thoſe, who accepted of any Poſt or Employment, either in Church or State. Is it not much to be feared, that ſuch an unnatural Diviſion as this might, in the End, prove fatal to the Conſtitution? For the Succeſs of either Party would certainly overturn our preſent Form of Government.

'I will not ſay, but that Country Gentlemen are very proper Repreſentatives of the People, and I believe the Majority of this Houſe will always conſiſt of ſuch, as it has formerly done; but I believe it will be granted me, that it is neceſſary, for diſpatching the Buſineſs that properly comes before this Houſe, to have likewiſe ſome of those Gentlemen among us, who belong to, and are acquainted with the Manner of tranſacting Buſineſs in the ſeveral great Offices under the Government. Every Gentleman, who has been but a ſhort Time in this Houſe, and has attended to the ſeveral Sorts of Buſineſs that have come before us, and the ſeveral Sorts of Papers and Accounts, we have, from Time to Time, found neceſſary for us to call for, muſt have taken Notice, that the Houſe would have been ſometimes greatly bewildered, if we had not had ſome Gentlemen among us belonging to the publick Offices, capable of explaining to the Houſe the Matters, which we then happened to have under our Conſideration; which muſt convince every Man of the Neceſſity of having ſome ſuch Gentle-

tlemen always amongſt us. If, indeed, there were Reaſon to ſuſpect, that Gentlemen in Offices, were by their enjoying ſuch Offices, any way influencedin their way of Acting or Speaking in this Houſe, it might then be neceſſary to contrive ſome Way of preventing that Influence for the future; but as I am convinced, that a Man's being in an Office, does not in the leaſt influence his way of Thinking, or his Manner of Acting, in this Houſe, I therefore think we have no Occaſion for contriving any ſuch Remedies at preſent, and far leſs for ſuch an extraordinary Remedy, as is propoſed by the Bill now before us, for which Reaſon I am againſt committing it.'

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Mr. Campbell was oppos'd by Mr. Sandys, as follows: Mr Sandys.

Sir,

'As this Bill met with no Oppoſition, either when it was moved for, or when it was brought in and read the firſt Time, I was very little apprehenſive, that we ſhould have had any Debate upon it; and much leſs was I apprehenſive, that our going into a Committee upon it would have been oppoſed, for as yet it can be called little more than a Blank; it cannot well deſerve the Name of a Bill, 'till it has gone through the Committee, where the many Blanks which are now in it, are properly to be filled up. I was, indeed, ſurrpiſed, to hear the worthy Gentleman, who ſpoke laſt, ſay that he thought it the moſt extraordinary and unreaſonable Bill he had ever ſeen brought into this Houſe; for if the Gentleman will look into our Journals, he will ſee that this very Bill has been often brought in, and has almoſt always been paſſed in this Houſe; and I am ſure, if ever it was thought reaſonable by this Houſe, it muſt now be thought much more ſo, when the Number of Placemen is much greater in this Houſe than it was ever heretofore. The worthy Gentleman has likewiſe told us, that he thinks the Bill unjuſt, both with reſpect to the Crown, the People, and the Gentlemen who have the Honour to be employed by the Crown; as to which, I ſhall take Notice in general, that, by the ſame Method of reaſoning, he may pretend to ſhew us, that all the Laws that were ever made for regulating Elections were unjuſt, and were Encroachments upon the Rights of the People. I ſhall readily agree with him that the People are the propereſt Judges, who ought to be choſen by them for Repreſentatives in Parliament; and I am confident, that were they left to a free Choice, we ſhould not ſee ſo many Civil and Military Officers brought into Parliament.

'The People, I believe, would always think themſelves more ſecure in being repreſented by Country Gentlemen, with whom they are well acquainted, and who can have no Intereſt ſeparate from them, than by Clerks of Offices, or ſuch

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ſuch other Perſons, whom they perhaps never ſaw or heard of before they came down to be choſe their Repreſentatives, and whom, probably, they may never ſee again, 'till they return to ask the ſame Favour; which every Gentleman here knows to be often the Caſe of many of our little Boroughs in England. But, to ſay, that it would be any Injuſtice in us, to lay any Reſtraint upon the People, as to the Choice of their Repreſentatives, ſeems to me very extraordinary, when we conſider the Laws now in Being, by which the People are reſtrained from chuſing any Gentleman for their Repreſentative, who is not poſſeſſed of ſuch an Eſtate. Surely, we may, with reſpect to Elections, without being guilty of any Injuſtice, lay what Reſtraints we think neceſſary for the Good of the Publick, and the Preſervation of our Conſtitution; for I am ſure, that whatever is for the Benefit of the People, cannot be juſtly ſaid or thought to be injurious to the Crown. It is extraordinary to ſay, that what is propoſed by this Bill, would be an Injuſtice done to thoſe, who are thereby to be made incapable of being elected; for have not we already a Law, by which all the Officers concerned in the Collection of the Cuſtoms or Exciſe, are rendered incapable of being choſen Members of Parliament? And yet I have never before heard it urged, that there was any Injuſtice done to thoſe Gentlemen, by excluding them from having Seats in Parliament, as long as they are in an Office which is inconſiſtent with their being Members of this Houſe.

'I will allow that the Choice made by the Burgeſſes of a little Borough, or by the Freeholders of a County, if it falls upon an Officer, Civil or Military, ſhews that the Majority of thoſe Electors, at that Time, did not think the Office he then enjoyed incompatible or inconſiſtent with his being their Repreſentative; but I hope it will not be ſaid, that the Burgeſſes of a little Borough, or even the Freeholders of a County, are better Judges in this Reſpect than the Repreſentatives of the whole People of Great Britain met in this Houſe; eſpecially when the Opinion of this Houſe is approved of and confirmed by the other two Branches of our Legiſlature. As to the Alternative pretended, that if this Bill ſhould paſs into a Law, it would render either the Officers, Civil and Military, contemptible, or this Houſe contemptible in the Eyes of the People, I cannot imagine how it could produce either of theſe Effects; for as to the Officers, Civil or Military, is it to be imagined, that a ſucceſsful General or Admiral, a brave and experienced Captain, by Sea or Land, or a Civil Officer, honeſt, expert, and diligent, in the Station he is in, would be contemned, becauſe he was not capable of being a Member of this

Houſe?

House? Were the Clergy ever brought into Contempt, by their being excluded the Privilege of being chosen Members of Parliament? On the contrary, I believe, they never got any Honour by being Members of either House; and, I believe, there are very few Officers, either Civil or Military, in the Kingdom, who ever gained much Honour, or much Repute, among the People, by their being Members of either House of Parliament, unless when their being such was the Occasion of their being turned out of the Offices they enjoyed, and might have continued to enjoy, to their own Honour, and the Advantage of their Country, if they had not been Members of Parliament. As to the other Part of the Alternative, that this House may be rendered contemptible by what is now proposed, I am not in the least afraid of it; but I am very much afraid, that if some Bill of this Nature is not speedily passed into a Law, this House will become contemptible in the Eyes not only of our own People, but of the whole World.

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'Gentlemen may pretend, that no Man is influenced in his way of Thinking, or in his manner of Acting, in this House, by the Post or the Office he possesses, and may be turned out of, whenever a Prime Minister may have a mind; but while Men are Men, I am convinced, there will always be a great Number, by far, I fear, the greatest Number, who will rather vote according to the Directions of the Prime Minister for the Time being, than run the Risk of being turned out of the lucrative Post or Office he then holds at the Pleasure of the Crown: And if ever a Majority of this House should happen to be composed of such Men, I am sure it will become as contemptible as ever the Senate of Rome was, after it became the political Tool of their arbritary and tyrannical Emperors. I will likewise agree with the honourable Gentleman, that it may be necessary, at least, it may be convenient for this House, always to have in it some of those Gentlemen, who belong to and are conversant in the Methods of transacting Business in the several great Offices of the Kingdom; and therefore I am not for excluding from Seats in Parliament all those who are in Offices Civil and Military; I believe no Gentleman in this House ever had any such Thoughts in his Head; and if Gentlemen will but peruse the Bill as it stands now, they will see, that there is to be an Exception, which is now left blank, as in all such Cases is usual, in order that when we go into a Committee, Gentlemen may then propose the filling up in that Blank as many Officers, or as many Sorts of Officers, as they have a mind. About this, indeed, I expected there might have been some Debates; but considering the great Number of Officers of all Sorts we have now in the House, considering how

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how greatly that Number may be increaſed in Times to come, conſidering the great Clamour already raiſed in the Nation againſt ſo many Officers being in this Houſe, I really did not expect, that any Gentleman would have oppoſed the committing of the Bill, or would have pretended, that the paſſing of ſome ſuch Bill was not now become neceſſary, both for the Honour of this Houſe, and the Safety of our Conſtitution. To conclude, the Bill is at preſent but a Blank, but I am confident, it may be made a good and a reaſonable Bill, and agreeable to every Gentleman in this Houſe; therefore I hope the Houſe will agree to the going into a Committee upon it, becauſe if Gentlemen do not like it after the Blanks are filled up, they may then drop it, or throw it out upon the third Reading'.

Mr Ed. Thompſon.

Mr Edward Thompſon ſpoke next:

Sir,

'If we do reſolve to go into a Committee on the Bill now before us, which I hope we ſhall not, I muſt take Liberty to move for an Inſtruction to receive a Clauſe, for excluding all thoſe who have asked for any Place or Employment, or any other Favour, from the Government, and have been refus'd what they asked for; becauſe I am perſuaded, that Anger, Revenge and Diſappointment, may influence Mens Actions, and even their Behaviour in this Houſe, as much as the Hopes of getting a Place, or the Fears of loſing one, can poſſibly do; and therefore I think it fully as reaſonable to exclude the former, as it is to exclude the latter, from having Seats in this Houſe. If it can be ſuppoſed, that the Hopes of getting a Place, or the Fear of loſing one, can influence ſome Men ſo much, as to make them approve of all the Meaſures of the Government, right or wrong; I am ſure it may be ſuppoſed, that the Paſſions of Revenge and Diſappointment may likewiſe influence ſome Men ſo much, as to make them find Fault where there is none, and to oppoſe whatever is propoſed by the Government, even when they are in their own Conſciences convinced that what was propoſed is right, and neceſſary for the Support of our Government and Conſtitution: But for my own Part, I can make no ſuch Suppoſition; I cannot ſuppoſe, that the being in a Place or Employment under the Government, is inconſiſtent with common Honour and Honeſty; nor can I ſuppoſe, that any Man would, for the ſake of ſatisfying his Malice or Revenge, oppoſe any Thing that he ſaw was neceſſary for preſerving or improving the Happineſs of his Country; and I would gladly ask thoſe Gentlemen, who have formerly been in Places under the Government, and happen now to be out, if they looked upon themſelves as leſs honeſt, when they were in Place, than they are now when they are out?

'As

'As the Bill appears to me to be a total Excluſion of all Officers, civil and military, from having Seats in this Houſe, I would really adviſe thoſe Gentlemen, who now ſeem ſo fond of it, to be a little cautious in paſſing ſuch a Bill, for if that, which they have ſo long ſtruggled to come at, be ſo near at Hand, as ſome People have been pleaſed to give out without Doors, the paſſing of ſuch a Bill may ſoon affect a great many of themſelves. They may then, perhaps, think of the Bill as I now think of it; and I muſt declare, that I can by no means agree to the committing of it, becauſe I think it impoſſible to make it a good Bill.'

Then Mr. Digby ſaid,

Mr Digby.

Sir,

I differ ſo far, in my Opinion about the Bill now before us, from the honourable Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, that I think it is not poſſible to make it a bad Bill. It is a Bill that has often, as was before obſerved, paſſed through this Houſe; and I am ſure it was never more neceſſary for ſecuring the Freedom and Independency of Parliaments than it is at this preſent Time: I am afraid, that even the Tranſactions of this Day may be a convincing Proof, of the great Neceſſity that there is for having ſome ſuch Bill paſſed; or rather that they will be a melancholy Proof of its being already impoſſible ever to get ſuch a Bill paſſed. It is certain, that the Preſervation of our Conſtitution depends upon preſerving a juſt Ballance between the ſeveral Powers of which it is compoſed: for if ever the Scale ſhould be ſo much turned, as to overthrow and deſtroy that Ballance, our Conſtitution will, from that Moment, be at an End: And it is certain, that the many penal Laws which have been enacted ſince the Revolution, the many Taxes that have been laid on and ſtill continued, and the great Number of Officers that are neceſſary for the collecting of thoſe Taxes, have thrown a great and a dangerous Power into the Hands of the Crown; ſuch a Power as, 'tis greatly to be feared, may enable the Crown to ſwallow up the two other Branches of our Legiſlature, by making them entirely dependent on the Crown, if ever thoſe employed by the Crown ſhould be wicked enough to make ſuch a cruel Uſe of the Power they have got into their Hands. I will not ſay, that ever ſuch a Uſe, or any wicked Uſe, has as yet been made of the great Power which the Crown has lately acquired; but there is no doubt but that ſuch a Uſe may be made of it: Some future Miniſter may ariſe, who may make an abſolute and a blind Obedience to his Commands, both as to voting and ſpeaking in either Houſe, and as to voting at Elections for Members of this Houſe, the only Tenure by which Gentlemen in Office can hope to continue in their reſpective Offi-

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ces, and the only Merit which can intitle a Man to Preferment either in Church or State; and if this ſhould ever happen to be the Caſe, I muſt leave it to every Gentleman that hears me to conſider, whether our Conſtitution would not then be in the moſt imminent Danger: Shall we then, who are the Guardians of the People's Liberties, neglect or refuſe to provide proper Fences, againſt that Power, which may, ſome time or other, be made uſe of for invading or breaking down all thoſe Fences, which now ſerve to protect and defend the Liberties and the Properties of the People? We all know, that the Service of the Crown and the Service of the People ought always to be the ſame; we know that the Crown ought never to aſk any Thing but what is for the Service of the People, and that the People ought never to refuſe what is neceſſary for the Support of the Crown, and for their own Defence; but we likewiſe know, that the Service of the Crown and the Service of the People have not been always the ſame; we know that the Crown has ſometimes been the People's moſt dangerous Enemy, and the People may, perhaps, have ſometimes refuſed what was neceſſary for the Support of the Crown, and for their own Defence. What has happened may happen again; but as long as the Parliament continues pure and uncorrupted, they will always be proper Mediators between the Crown and the People; whereas, if both Houſes of Parliament ſhould ever come to be entirely dependent on the Crown, and ready to follow blindly whatever Inſtructions they may receive from the Miniſters of the Crown, could it then be ſaid, that the Parliament would be proper Mediators between the Crown and the People? Could it be expected, that the Parliament would ever put a Check upon the moſt arbitrary Demands of the Crown? or could it be expected, that they would ever have Weight enough with the People, to prevail with them to comply willingly with the moſt neceſſary Demands of the Crown? This is a Caſe that is certainly to be apprehended by all thoſe, who have any Regard for our preſent happy Conſtitution; and as the Number of Officers in the Service of the Crown is daily increaſing in this Houſe, I think it high Time to put a Stop to it; for the Diſeaſe may, very ſoon, become incurable.

'That ſome dangerous Practices have formerly been attempted, by the Miniſters of the Crown, upon the Members of this Houſe, cannot be denied; ſince an honourable Gentleman of great Worth, a Gentleman of great Diſtinction in the Army, *General Wade*, has but lately told us, that even he himſelf was threatened, for daring to give his Vote againſt one of the moſt deſtructive miniſterial Schemes that was ever brought into Parliament; and tho' he had Virtue

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and Courage enough to deſpiſe ſuch Threats, yet it is probable, that many were brought over by ſuch or the like Arguments; becauſe that Scheme, deſtructive as it was, got the Sanction of a Britiſh Act of Parliament; an Act, which, for its many fatal and iniquitous Effects, will for ever make a conſiderable Æra in the Annals of this Nation. But I need not enlarge, upon the Neceſſity of our having ſome ſuch Law as is propoſed by this Bill; the Thing ſpeaks itſelf; the Independence of our Parliaments is certainly our greateſt Security; and if we cannot render them altogether independent, the more they are ſo, the leſs our Danger will be, therefore I am for our going into the Committee moved for.'

Mr. Winington.

Mr. Winington ſpoke next,

Sir,

'This Bill, as Gentlemen have obſerved, has, 'tis true, been often propoſed, and has ſometimes paſſed in this Houſe, but it has likewiſe been ſometimes rejected; ſo that if there is any Argument in this, it is equally ſtrong on both Sides; and as it has been often propoſed, and never yet has paſſed into a Law, it is a certain Proof that it has never yet been thought reaſonable: Indeed, if we look into the Hiſtory of it we ſhall find, that it has, at all Times, been brought in and ſupported by thoſe, who were at thoſe ſeveral Times endeavouring as much as they could to diſtreſs the Government. I will likewiſe agree with the honourable Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, that it is neceſſary to keep a Ballance between the three Branches of the Legiſlature; but I cannot agree with him in ſaying, that that Ballance is now in any Danger of being deſtroyed: I hope it never will; I am ſure it never was in leſs Danger than it is at preſent; and I am perſuaded, that if the Government ſhould ever attempt any Thing againſt the Liberties of the People, they would find no ſuch ſervile Dependence, or blind Obedience, among the Gentlemen in Office as has been talk'd of: Many of thoſe Gentlemen are, and, I believe, always muſt be, Gentlemen of good Families, and poſſeſſed of conſiderable Eſtates of their own; they may not perhaps be very ready to join with any Set of Men to diſtreſs that Government they ſerve; but if they ſhould obſerve that Government incroaching upon the Liberties of the People, they would then, without doubt, ſhew ſome Regard to the Families they were come of, and the Preſervation of their own private Fortunes; and would rather throw up the Poſts or Places they enjoyed under the Crown, than join with the Crown in overturning the Laws and the Conſtitution of their Country.

'As there may be Danger, in throwing too much Power

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into the Hands of the Crown, ſo, I hope, it will be granted, that the Hands of the Crown may be ſo much weakened, as to render it impoſſible for the Crown to ſupport itſelf, and adminiſter the publick Affairs of the Nation as they ought to be; and this laſt would, I am convinced, be the Caſe, if this Bill ſhould paſs into a Law. For, as it certainly contains a total Excluſion of all Officers, civil and military, where muſt the Crown go to find Perſons to fill up thoſe Employments as they ſhall become vacant? Gentlemen of Figure or Fortune in their Country would not certainly accept of any them, were they thereby to be branded with ſuch a Mark of Infamy, as to be rendered incapable of ſerving their Country in Parliament; ſo that the Crown would be obliged to go among the very Dregs of the People, to find out Perſons who would undertake, or accept of any Office under the Crown; and thus, in a ſhort Time, we ſhould have all our Offices and Employments, both civil and military, filled with Creatures of no Family or Fortune in the Kingdom: And if all our civil Employments, but eſpecially our military Employments, ſhould come into ſuch Hands, I would gladly know, from the Gentlemen ſo fond of this Bill, if they would think the Conſtitution ſafe under ſuch an Adminiſtration. This I take to be a very ſtrong Argument againſt the Bill, and I cannot really ſee any one Argument for it; I can ſee no Reaſon, why a Gentleman, only becauſe he is in Employment under the Crown, ſhould be deprived of his Birthright, by being diſqualified from ſitting in Parliament. It is certain, that the People at preſent do not think ſo, otherwiſe they would not chuſe ſo many of thoſe Gentlemen as they do; and I muſt think, that it would be a very great Encroachment on the Rights of the People, to dictate to them in their Choice, and to tell them, you ſhall chuſe only ſuch or ſuch Perſons for your Repreſentatives in Parliament. The Laws, as they ſtand now, have, I think, provided ſufficiently in this Reſpect; if any Gentleman accepts of an Office or Employment under the Crown, he is ſent down to be re-choſen, and if the People think him thereby diſqualified, they may refuſe chuſing him again for their Repreſentative; but the many Inſtances, which have even lately occurred, of Gentlemen being re-elected upon ſuch Occaſions, is with me a full Proof, that the People do not think any Gentleman diſqualified from being their Repreſentative, by his having accepted of an Office or Employment under the Crown. As for the South Sea-Scheme, which the honourable Gentleman was pleaſed to mention, however deſtructive it was, it is certain it is not to be laid to the Charge of the Crown, or of the Miniſtry even at that Time

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We all know how, and by what Methods, it was carried through Parliament: We know, that when the Inquiry came to be made, it appeared, that thoſe Directors, who were let into the Secret, and intruſted with the Management of that Scheme in Parliament, were Men of all Denominations and Complexions, and Subſcriptions were given to Members of as different Denominations and Complexions; by which there were, I believe, many more brought in to ſupport that Scheme, than were brought in by any miniſterial Influence: But whatever may be in that, it is well known, that the Miniſters that now are, were ſtrenuous Oppoſers of that Scheme; ſo that no Argument can be drawn from thence, for or againſt any Thing that is now propoſed.' Anno 7. Geo. II. 1733 34.

Mr Winington was anſwered by Sir William Wyndham: Sir W. Wyndham.

Sir,

'As it has always been my Opinion, that every Man, who is in a Place or Office under the Government, is not therefore neceſſarily to be ſuppoſed to be under any ſlaviſh Influence as to his Behaviour in this Houſe, I have formerly oppoſed Bills of this Sort; and if this Bill, when it may properly be call'd one, does appear to be the ſame with thoſe which I have formerly oppoſed, I ſhall oppoſe this likewiſe. But the worthy Gentleman, who brought in this Bill, has already, in Converſation, ſhewed me a good deal of Difference between what is now deſigned, and the Bills I have formerly oppoſed; for which Reaſon I ſhall be for going into a Committee upon it, becauſe no Man can well ſay any Thing, either for or againſt the Bill, as it now ſtands, it being really nothing but a Blank; but when thoſe Blanks are filled up, and the Bill brought into ſuch a Shape, as to enable one to form ſome ſort of Judgment about it, I can then eaſily determine, what farther I am to do; and if it be not then made very different from the Bills I have formerly oppoſed, under the ſame Title, I ſhall in this, as, I hope, I have on all other Occaſions, act conſiſtently with myſelf, and oppoſe the Bill's being carried any Step farther. At the ſame Time I muſt take Notice, that the Neceſſity for ſome ſuch Bill is certainly much greater now than it was formerly: Parliaments are now of a much longer Continuance, and it muſt be granted, that a more intimate Acquaintance, and a more cloſe Correſpondence between the Crown and a Parliament, may be contracted in a Courſe of ſeven Years, than could poſſibly have happened in a Courſe of three Years only. This is a moſt dangerous Novelty, which has been lately introduced; and when ſuch Novelties are introduced into our Conſtitution, if they can't be ſhaken off, if Things can't be brought back

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to where they were, Laws, which formerly were thought unneceſſary and unreaſonable, may then become both reaſonable and neceſſary; and Gentlemen who formerly oppoſed them may then think themſelves obliged, both in Honour and Duty, to ſupport and promote them to the utmoſt of their Power.

'As the Bill is now but a Blank, we argue in the dark upon it, but if I have been rightly informed, there never was the leaſt Deſign of excluding all Officers, civil and military; on the contrary, the great Officers of State, the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, Admiralty, Trade, and many others in ſuch Offices are to be excepted: None of them are deſigned, nor indeed ought they to be excluded, becauſe they are generally ſuch, who by their Families and Fortunes have a natural Intereſt in the Country, and may be choſe Members of Parliament without any Aſſiſtance from the Board to which they belong. Such Gentlemen may reaſonably be ſuppoſed to be independent of the Board, or even of any Miniſter of State; but the ſame cannot be ſaid of all the other little Officers belonging to thoſe Boards, or to any other Office under the Government; if ſuch little Officers ſhould ever be brought into Parliament, it muſt be by the unnatural Intereſt of the Board or Office to which they belong; and as they'll then be entirely dependent on the Board or Office to which they belong, not only for their Seats in Parliament but likewiſe for their daily Bread, we cannot ſuppoſe, that their Behaviour in this Houſe will be abſolutely free from miniſterial Influence; therefore I muſt think, that it may be very proper to exclude all ſuch from being brought into Parliament; for though it may be neceſſary to allow a Secretary of State, or any ſuch great Officer, a Seat in this Houſe, yet it is not at all neceſſary he ſhould come here with his Clerks, and the whole Equipage of his Office. Tho' the honourable Gentleman, who ſpoke laſt, ſeemed to think that no Argument could be drawn from the Succeſs of late the fatal South Sea-Scheme, yet, I think he, from thence, gave us a very ſtrong Argument for ſome ſuch Bill as is now propoſed, when he told us, that Gentlemen of all Denominations and Complexions were drawn in to ſupport that Scheme, by means of the Subſcriptions that were given them; for does not that ſhew, that Men of all Denominations and Complexions are apt to have their Inclinations byaſſed, and even their Underſtandings blinded, in Favour of that publick Meaſure, from which they expect to draw a private Advantage? Is not this one of the ſtrongeſt Arguments, that can be given, for us to take all poſſible Care, that no Member of this Houſe ſhall ever have any private Advantage to expect, or

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ny private Loſs to fear, from his Voting on either Side of ny Queſtion, that may happen in this Houſe? And is not his a moſt unanſwerable Argument, for our agreeing to exclude thoſe from Seats in this Houſe, who may have he whole, or at leaſt the principal Part, of their daily Subſtence depending upon their way of voting or behaving, s Members of this Houſe? However, it is impoſſible to rgue with any Certainty, either for or againſt the Bill, as now ſtands; if the Bill, after it has paſſed thro' the Committee, ſhall appear to be an unreaſonable, or an unneceſary Bill, we may eaſily prevent its going any farther; and herefore I muſt ſay, that I can ſee no Reaſon for Gentlemen's oppoſing our going into a Committee upon it, unleſs be, that they are afraid, leſt it may be there made ſo ood and ſo reaſonable a Bill, that they cannot then, with ny Confidence, oppoſe its being paſſed into a Law.'

Then the Queſtion was put, and carried in the Negative, y 230 againſt 191.

Complaint againſt Sir Wm. Milner, Bart. for receiving a Penſion of 500 l. per Annum for his Vote in Parliament.

February 19. Complaint being made to the Houſe, hat William Noble, Clerk, had aſſerted, in a publick Coffee-houſe, that Sir William Milner, Bart. Member for York, received a Penſion from the Court, and that he knew he Perſon who paid it; in Diſhonour of the ſaid Sir William Milner, and in Breach of the Privilege of the Houſe, Mr James Farrer and Mr Brudenell Greenwood, who had eard and reported this Piece of Converſation, attending at he Door, they were called in, and examined touching the Matter of the ſaid Complaint; and upon declaring that hey had heard Mr Noble publickly aſſert, That Sir William Milner was a Penſioner, and received 500 l. *per nn.* for his voting in Parliament, and that he knew from hom he received the ſame; it was ordered, That the ſaid William Noble, Clerk, be ſummoned to attend the Houſe rthwith, to anſwer the ſaid Complaint. Mr Noble, eing called in and examined, acknowledged, That he ight perhaps have ſaid in private Converſation, that he ad heard of Sir William Milner's having a Penſion from he Court, or ſomething to that Effect; but as what he id upon that Occaſion, was ſaid only curſorily in Converſation, and without any Deſign of reflecting upon any entleman, he could not remember the very Words he en made Uſe of. He being withdrawn, Sir William ilner ſtood up, and ſpoke as follows:

Sir Wm. Milner's Defence.

Mr Speaker,

'I am extreamly ſorry, that I ſhould have the Misfortune having my Name mentioned, in ſo infamous a Manner as hat you have now heard at your Bar; but ſince it has been mentioned, I think it incumbent upon me to make a publick

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dublick Declaration of my own Innocence: And I do, upon my Honour, and in the moſt ſolemn Manner, affirm, That I neither have, nor ever had any Place, Penſion, Gratuity or Reward, from the Court, either directly or indirectly, for my voting in Parliament, or upon any other Account whatever: And likewiſe, That it is, and has ever been my conſtant Reſolution, that, during the Time I have the Honour of ſerving my Country in Parliament, in order to keep my Opinion unbyaſſed, I never will accept of any Place or Penſion either from this Miniſtry, or any ſucceeding one.

'The reflecting upon the Members of this Houſe has been a common Practice of late Years, by the Enemies of our Conſtitution, to render his Majeſty's Government odious, to inflame the Nation, and to leſſen the Dignity and Authority of this Houſe: For if Mankind can be once brought to believe, that the Members of this Houſe are corrupted, it is a very natural Conſequence to imagine, that whatever is done here proceeds from private Views, and a ſelf-intereſted Principle, without regarding the Good of the Publick.

'For my own Part, I think, if the Gentleman, whoſe Character ſhould be Sacred, can make good his Aſſertions, he ought to have the Thanks of this Houſe, for doing his Country ſo publick a Service, as the detecting a corrupt and unworthy Member: But if it be falſe and groundleſs, I hope this Houſe will have ſo juſt a Regard for one of their own Body, as to ſhew a proper Reſentment.'

Then it was reſolved, *Nem. Con.* That it appeared to the Houſe,

The ſaid Complaint voted falſe and ſcandalous.

I. That William Noble, Clerk, had publickly aſſerted that Sir William Milner, a Member of that Houſe, was a Penſioner, and received 500 l. *per Annum*, for his voting in Parliament; and that he knew from whom he received the ſame.

II. That the ſaid Aſſertion was falſe and ſcandalous, highly reflecting upon the Honour of the ſaid Sir William Milner, and of that Houſe, and a Breach of the Priviledge thereof: And it was ordered that the ſaid William Noble, Clerk, be, for the ſaid Offence, taken into the Cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms attending the Houſe.

Mr Noble was accordingly taken into Cuſtody, but ſome Days after, upon a Petition to the Houſe, expreſſing his Sorrow for his ſaid Offence, and begging Pardon of the Member, and of the Houſe for the ſame, he was diſcharged out of Cuſtody.

Feb. 20. The Houſe reſolved itſelf into a Committee to conſider farther of Ways and Means for raiſing the Supply granted to his Majeſty; and reſolved, That the ſeveral

Duties on Salt, and alſo on white and red Herrings, delivered out for Home-Conſumption; which by an Act of the 5th Year of his preſent Majeſty's Reign were revived and granted to his Majeſty until the 25th of *March* 1735, be farther continued and granted from the 24th of *March* 1734, to the 25th of *March* 1742: This Reſolution was next Day agreed to by the Houſe, and a Bill order'd in purſuance thereof, which accordingly was brought in and paſſed into a Law. Thus was that Duty continued for ſeven Years, without any great Oppoſition, notwithſtanding the reviving of it had been ſo much oppoſed.

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The Salt Duty continued to March 25. 1742.

March 7. The Bill for preventing the infamous Practice of Stock-jobbing, was read a third Time, and paſs'd, and Sir John Ruſhout was ordered to carry it to the Lords.

The Bill to prevent Stock-jobbing paſs'd, and ſent up to the Lords.

March 13. Upon a Motion made by Mr. Gibbon, it was ordered, that the Serjeant at Arms attending the Houſe ſhould go with the Mace into the Court of Requeſts, and Places adjacent, and ſummon the Members there to attend the Service of the Houſe, and he being returned, Mr. William Bromley, Member for Warwick, ſtood up, and ſpoke as follows:

Mr. Speaker,

Mr Bromley's Motion for repealing the Septennial Act.

'The Call of the Houſe being adjourn'd to a very remote Day, upon a general Opinion, which I hope is well founded, that no Vote of Credit will be propoſed, I believe we can ſcarce expect to ſee a fuller Houſe than this Day produces. There cannot therefore be a better Opportunity of making a Motion which I apprehend to be of ſuch a National Concernment, that I have long wiſh'd it undertaken by ſome Perſon better able to ſupport it than myſelf: But I have this Satisfaction, that what I am going to offer will ſo far ſpeak for itſelf, as may ſupply any Defects in my Manner of laying it before you; and I cannot doubt the Concurrence of this Houſe, when it comes to be maturely conſidered.

'I believe we are none of us unappriſ'd of the Diſlike the People in general have always had to long Parliaments; a Diſlike juſtly founded on Reaſon and Experience; long Parliaments in former Reigns having proved the unhappy Cauſe of great Calamities to this Nation, and having been at all Times declared an Innovation upon our Conſtitution I am convinced there is no one that hears me, who does not believe the People thought themſelves highly aggrieved by the Septennial Bill: That they even looked upon it as a dangerous Infringement of their Liberties, notwithſtanding the Cauſe alledged in the Preamble to the Act, which ſeemed at that Time to carry ſome Weight with it.

'That Cauſe being happily removed, they deſire to revert, as near as may be, to their ancient Conſtitution; and ſurely

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there can never be a more favourable Opportunity to effectuate it than at this Juncture, when his Majesty, to the great Joy of the Kingdom, has been graciously pleased to declare his Satisfaction, That the People are soon to have an Opportunity of chusing a new Representative. The present Parliament draws near its Dissolution: What can it do more for its own Honour? How can it crown its many meritorious Acts better, than by redressing a Grievance, which a succeeding Parliament may possibly have its Reasons for not entering into?

'Frequent Parliaments were early declared a fundamental Part of our Constitution. In the fourth of Edward III. an Act passed for holding them once a Year, or oftner if there should be Occasion. In the 36th Year of the same Reign that Statute was confirmed. In that Parliament *Magna Charta* and *Charta de Foresta* were confirm'd, and several new Privileges granted to the Subject. Then comes the Clause relating to Parliaments, which sufficiently shews, the Intention and original Institution of them was for the Redress of Grievances: For the Bill enacts, That for the Maintenance of the said Articles and Statutes, that is, the Privileges before-mentioned, and for Redress of divers Mischiefs and Grievances, which daily happen, a new Parliament shall be held once every Year, as at another Time was ordained. The 16th of Car. II. recites, That by the ancient Laws and Statutes, Parliaments are to be held very often, and therefore enacts, That the sitting and holding of Parliaments shall not be intermitted, or discontinued, for more than three Years.

'In the early Days when this prudent Care was taken for frequent Meeting of Parliaments, the Crown was possessed of Revenues, which made Applications to the People for Money, unless upon extraordinary Emergencies, unnecessary. It therefore plainly appears, That Redress of Grievances, making salutary Laws for the Good of the Community, and preserving the Liberties of the People, by supporting a due Balance between the Power of the Crown and the Rights of the Subject, were the main Ends of calling Parliaments. The Power of calling then being the undoubted Prerogative of the Crown, it became necessary, for the Safety of the Subject, to oblige the Crown to call them frequently. I must confess, a Caution of this Kind is no longer necessary, nor can it ever be, so long as we preserve to ourselves the Power of granting Money; the Crown Revenues being sunk, or wantonly granted away, the annual Call for a Supply must necessarily produce an annual Meeting of Parliament. But give me Leave to observe, the Grievance now complained of is of a very different Nature

It is not founded on Diſcontinuance of Parliaments; but on a too long and dangerous Continuance of one and the ſame Parliament: A Practice unheard of in former Times, when Prorogations were not known; For when a Parliament was annually called for the Redreſs of Grievances, as ſoon as the Buſineſs of the Seſſion was over, it was diſſolved, and a new one called the next Year for the ſame Purpoſe; by which Means the Country had a proper Check upon their Repreſentatives, and thoſe who had appear'd to be too much under the Influence of the Crown; thoſe who were too much attached to the Miniſter, had leſs Opportunity of injuring their Country; the People had it more frequently in their Power to ſhew a proper Reſentment, and remedy the Evil, by ſending others the next Year in their Places.

'This Matter ſeems fully explained by 16 Car. II. which does not only prevent Diſcontinuance of Parliaments, but wiſely provides againſt the too long Continuance of one and the ſame Parliament, by enacting it into a Law, that a new Parliament ſhall be called once in Three Years, or oftner if there be Occaſion. The Bill of Rights in the ſecond Seſſion of William and Mary, among many other Privileges which we now enjoy, enacts, That for Redreſs of Grievances, amending, ſtrengthening and preſerving Laws, Parliaments ought to be frequently held; and the ſixth of the ſame Reign, explains the true Meaning of the Clauſe, when it declares, That frequent and new Parliaments tend very much to the happy Union and good Agreement between the King and the People; it confirms the 16 Car. II. that Parliaments ſhall be held once in three Years at leaſt, and adds, That no Parliament ſhall continue more than three Years at fartheſt. Between that and the firſt of the late King, ſeveral Parliaments were held, and none continued longer than three Years; ſome held for one Seſſion; which ſeems to be the original Conſtitution, and beſt calculated for the good of the Nation. That Year the Septennial Bill paſt, the Repeal of which I am going to move, but believe it more agreeable to the Rules of the Houſe, that the Act itſelf ſhould be firſt read. [*Here the Clerk read the Act*] The Preamble to the Bill, which is the Foundation of it, will, I think, admit a very eaſy Anſwer; As to the firſt Point, That Triennial Parliaments have proved more grievous, burthenſome, and expenſive, than they were ever known before that Law paſt, I readily agree: But let us conſider the Cauſe; the Lengthening the Term occaſioned the Expence. I fear I might add, the Multiplicity of Places enjoy'd by the Members of this Houſe, may be too juſtly alledged another Cauſe. But I would willingly confine myſelf to the particular Point,

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how far the Term or Duration of Parliaments might encrease or leſſen the Expence? Might add to or diminiſh the Grievance complained of? And I will conſider it only in this Light, by ſubmitting it to every Gentleman that hears me, Whether he would not give more for an Annuity of three Years than for a Grant determinable at the end of one? And by the ſame Parity of Reaſoning, Whether Septennial Parliaments muſt not prove more grievous, burthenſome and expenſive than Triennial, at leaſt in ſuch a Degree as an Annuity for ſeven Years deſerves a better Conſideration than one for three.

'But ſuppoſing I ſhould be out in this Point, which I can never give up without due Conviction; this Argument in the Preamble is, I hope, entirely at an End. The Act againſt Bribery and Corruption, which muſt ever redound to the Honour of this Parliament, will neceſſarily remedy this Evil: That glorious Act will prevent Corruption in the Electors. Nothing but frequent new Parliaments can remedy it in the Elected.

'The other Reaſon upon which that Act was founded, namely, a Suſpicion that Deſigns were carrying on to renew the Rebellion, and an Invaſion from abroad, was in my humble Opinion, the only juſtifiable Pretence for enacting it into a Law; and might poſſibly have induced ſome Gentlemen of very great Honour and Integrity, to give their Votes for the Bill at that Juncture, whoſe Aſſiſtance, I flatter myſelf, I ſhall now have in repealing it: For thoſe who voted for it from that View, could never intend it ſhould be made perpetual, or that it ſhould continue longer than that Misfortune ſubſiſted.

'I muſt beg Pardon of you Sir, and of the Houſe, for the Trouble I have given you. The Nature of the Motion, I am going to make you, has unavoidably drawn me into a Length as diſagreeable to myſelf, as it muſt have been to thoſe that hear me. Numberleſs Arguments will occur to every Gentleman in favour of it; I will therefore conclude with this Motion, viz.

'That Leave be given to bring in a Bill for repealing the Septennial Act, and for the more frequent Meeting and Calling of Parliaments.

'In this, Sir, I hope I ſhall be juſtified, as it cannot proceed from any indirect or private Views; but from a real Conviction, that the Happineſs and Safety of this Nation depends upon it; in which I am ſupported by the common Voice of the People, and have it particularly recommended to me by a great Majority of thoſe I have the Honour to repreſent in Parliament, as well as from my Neighbours of the City of Coventry, for whoſe Recommendation

mendation I ſhall always have a due Regard, tho' I have not the Honour to repreſent them.' Anno 7. Geo. II. 1733-34.

Mr Bromley was ſeconded by Sir John St. Aubyn, as follows: Sir J. St. Aubyn.

Mr Speaker,

'The honourable Gentleman, who made you this Motion, has ſupported the Neceſſity of it by ſo many ſtrong and forcible Arguments, that there is hardly any Thing new to be offered. I am very ſenſible therefore of the Diſadvantages I muſt lie under, in attempting to ſpeak after him; and I ſhould content myſelf with barely ſeconding him, if the Subject Matter of this Debate was not of ſo great Importance, that I ſhould be aſham'd to return to my Electors, without endeavouring, in the beſt Manner I am able, to declare publickly the Reaſons, which induced me to give my moſt ready Aſſent to this Queſtion.

'Tis evident from what has been ſaid, that the People have an unqueſtionable Right to frequent new Parliaments by ancient Uſage; and that this Uſage has been confirmed by ſeveral Laws, which have been progreſſively made by our Anceſtors, as often as they found it neceſſary to inſiſt on this Eſſential Privilege.

'Parliaments were generally annual, but never continued longer than three Years, 'till the remarkable Reign of Henry VIII. He was a Prince of unruly Appetites, and of an Arbitrary Will: He was impatient of every Reſtraint; the Laws of God and Man fell equally a Sacrifice as they ſtood in the Way of his Avarice, or diſappointed his Ambition: He therefore introduced Long Parliaments, becauſe he very well knew that they would become the proper Inſtruments of both; and what a ſlaviſh Obedience they paid to all his Meaſures is ſufficiently known.

'If we come to the Reign of King Charles I. we muſt acknowledge him to be a Prince of a contrary Temper; he had certainly an innate Love for Religion and Virtue, and of Conſequence for the Liberty of his Country. —— But here lay the Misfortune, —— He was led from his natural Diſpoſition by Sycophants and Flatterers; they adviſed him to neglect the calling of frequent Parliaments; and therefore, by not taking the conſtant Senſe of his People in what he did, he was work'd up into ſo high a Notion of Prerogative, that the Commons, in order to reſtrain it, obtain'd that independent fatal Power, which at laſt unhappily brought him to his moſt tragical End, and at the ſame Time ſubverted the whole Conſtitution. And I hope we ſhall learn this Leſſon from it, never to compliment the Crown with any new or extravagant Powers, nor to deny the

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the People thoſe Rights which by ancient Uſage they are intitled to; but to preſerve that juſt and equal Ballance, from which they will derive mutual Security; and which, if duly obſerved, will render our Conſtitution the Envy and Admiration of the World.

'King Charles II. naturally took a Surfeit of Parliaments in his Father's Time, and was therefore extremely deſirous to lay them aſide: But this was a Scheme impracticable. However, in Effect he did ſo: For he obtained a Parliament, which by its long Duration, like an Army of Veterans, became ſo exactly diſciplin'd to his own Meaſures, that they knew no other Command but from that Perſon who gave them their Pay.

'This was a ſafe and moſt ingenious Way of enſlaving a Nation. It was very well known, that arbitrary Power, if it was open and avow'd, would never prevail here. The People were therefore amuſed with the ſpecious Form of their Antient Conſtitution: It exiſted, indeed, in their Fancy; but, like a mere Phantom, had no Subſtance or Reality in it; for the Power, the Authority, the Dignity of Parliaments were wholly loſt. This was that remarkable Parliament, which ſo juſtly obtained the opprobious Name of The Penſioner Parliament, and was the Model from which, I believe, ſome later Parliaments have been exactly copied.

'At the Time of the Revolution, the People made a freſh claim of their ancient Privileges; and as they had ſo lately experienced the Misfortune of long and ſervile Parliaments, it was then Declared, that they ſhould be held frequently. But it ſeems their full Meaning was not underſtood by this Declaration; and therefore, as in every new Settlement, the Intention of all Parties ſhould be ſpecifically manifeſted, the Parliament never ceaſed ſtruggling with the Crown 'till the Triennial Law was obtained: The Preamble of it, which the honourable Gentleman has recited, is extremely full and ſtrong; and in the Body of the Bill you will find the Word *Declared* before *Enacted*, by which I apprehend, that tho' this Law did not immediately take Place at the Time of the Revolution, it was certainly intended as declaratory of the firſt Meaning; and therefore ſtands as Part of that original Contract, under which the Conſtitution was then ſettled. His Majeſty's Title to the Crown is primarily derived from that Contract; and if, upon a Review, there ſhall appear to be any Deviations from it, we ought to treat them as ſo many Injuries done to that Title. And I dare ſay, that this Houſe, which has gone thro' ſo long a Series of Services to his Majeſty, will at laſt be willing to revert to thoſe original ſtated Meaſures of Government, to renew and ſtrengthen that Title.

'But

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'But I think the Manner in which the Septennial Law was first introduced, is a very ſtrong Reaſon why it ſhould be repealed. Pepole in their Fears have very often Recourſe to deſperate Expedients, which, if not cancelled in Seaſon, will themſelves prove fatal to that Conſtitution which they were meant to ſecure. Such is the Nature of the Septennial Law; it was intended only as a Preſervative againſt a Temporary Inconveniency: The Inconveniency is removed, but the miſchievous Effects ſtill continue; for it not only altered the Conſtitution of Parliaments, but it extended that ſame Parliament beyond its Natural Duration; and therefore carries this moſt unjuſt Implication with it, That you may at any Time uſurp the moſt indubitable, the moſt eſſential Privilege of the People, I mean that of chuſing their own Repreſentative. A Precedent of ſuch a dangerous Conſequence, of ſo fatal a Tendency, that I think it would be a Reproach to our Statute-book if that Law was any longer to ſubſiſt, which might record it to Poſterity.

'This is a Seaſon of Virtue and publick Spirit. Let us take Advantage of it, to repeal thoſe Laws which infringe on our Liberties, and introduce ſuch as may reſtore the Vigour of our Ancient Conſtitution.

'Human Nature is ſo very corrupt, that all Obligations loſe their Force, unleſs they are frequently renewed. Long Parliaments become therefore independent of the People; and when they do ſo, there always happens a moſt dangerous Dependence elſewhere.

'It has of late been deny'd, that the People have a Right of remonſtrating to us. It has been called an unjuſtifiable Controul upon the Freedom of our Proceedings. But then, let them have more frequent Opportunities of varying the Choice of their Repreſentatives, that they may diſmiſs ſuch who have unfaithfully withdrawn their Attention from them.

'The influencing Powers of the Crown are daily increaſing, and it is highly requiſite that Parliaments ſhould be frequently reſponſible to their Conſtituents; that they ſhould be kept under the conſtant Awe of acting contrary to their Intereſts. Modern Hiſtory, I believe, will inform us, that ſome very dangerous Attempts upon our Liberties have been diſappointed. Not ſo much from the Virtue of many in this Houſe, as from the Apprehenſions they may have had of an approaching Election.

'It is true, there is a Proviſion againſt ſuch whoſe Places vacate their Seats here; but this is no Guard againſt Secret Penſioners and Placeholders. Give me Leave to ſay, that the Laws, with reſpect to them are very inſufficient; and as we were not allowed to make them effectual, the People have no other Remedy but a new Election.

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'I think that long Parliaments are a great Hardſhip upon thoſe, who may be excluded out of this Houſe, and ought reaſonably to take their Turn: But ſeven Years is the Purchaſe of a Man's Life. It is equally hard upon ſuch, whoſe private Fortunes will not admit them to engage in ſo long and painful a Service. It muſt be ſo to thoſe who mean no View nor Advantage by it.

'I think too, that nothing can be of greater Uſe to his Majeſty than frequent new Parliaments; that he may often take the freſh Senſe of the Nation, and not be partially adviſed: For his Meaſures will always have a greater Weight both at Home and Abroad, the more generally he refers himſelf to the Opinion of his People.

'A farther Miſchief of long Parliaments is, that a Miniſter has Time and Opportunities of getting Acquaintance with Members, of practiſing his ſeveral Arts to win them into his Schemes. But this muſt be the Work of Time. Corruption is of ſo baſe a Nature, that at firſt Sight it is extremely ſhocking. Hardly any one has ſubmitted to it all at once. His Diſpoſition muſt be previouſly underſtood, the particular Bait muſt be found out, with which he is to be allured, and after all, it is not without many Struggles that he ſurrenders his Virtue. Indeed, there are ſome who will at once plunge themſelves over Head and Ears into any baſe Action, but the generality of Mankind are of a more cautious Nature, and will proceed only by leiſure Degrees. One or two perhaps have deſerted their Colours the firſt Campaign, ſome have done it a ſecond. But a great many, who have not that eager Diſpoſition to Vice, will wait 'till a third.

'For this Reaſon, ſhort Parliaments have been leſs corrupt than long ones; they are obſerved, like Streams of Water, always to grow more impure, the greater Diſtance they run from the Fountain-Head.

'I am aware it may be ſaid, that frequent new Parliaments will produce frequent new Expences, but I think quite contrary; I am really of Opinion, that it will be a proper Remedy againſt the Evil of Bribery at Elections, eſpecially as you have provided ſo wholeſome a Law to co-operate upon theſe Occaſions.

'As to Bribery at Elections, whence did it ariſe? Not from Country-Gentlemen, for they are ſure of being choſe without it; it was the Invention of wicked and corrupt Miniſters, who have from Time to Time led weak Princes into ſuch deſtructive Meaſures, that they did not dare to rely upon the natural Repreſentation of the People. Long Parliaments firſt introduced Bribery, becauſe they were worth purchaſing at any Rate; Country-Gentlemen, who have

have only their private Fortunes to rely upon, and have no mercenary Ends to ſerve, are unable to oppoſe it, eſpecially if at any Time the publick Treaſure ſhall be unfaithfully ſquandered away to corrupt their Boroughs. Country Gentlemen, indeed, may make ſome weak Efforts, but as they generally prove unſucceſsful, and the Time of a freſh Struggle is at ſo great a Diſtance, they at laſt grow faint in the Diſpute, give up their Country for loſt, and retire in Deſpair. Deſpair naturally produces Indolence, and That is the proper Diſpoſition for Slavery. Miniſters of State underſtand this very well, and are therefore unwilling to awaken the Nation out of its Lethargy by frequent Elections. They know that the Spirit of Liberty, like every other Virtue of the Mind, is to be kept alive only by conſtant Action, that it is impoſſible to enſlave this Nation, whilſt it is perpetually upon its Guard. Let Country Gentlemen then, by having frequent Opportunities of exerting themſelves, be kept warm and active in their Contention for the Publick Good: This will raiſe that Zeal and Indignation which will at laſt get the better of thoſe undue Influences, by which the Officers of the Crown, though unknown to the ſeveral Boroughs, have been able to ſupplant Country Gentlemen of great Characters and Fortune, who live in their Neighbourhood. I don't ſay this upon idle Speculation only. I live in a Country where it is too well known, and I'll appeal to many Gentlemen in the Houſe, to more out of it (and who are ſo for this very Reaſon) for the Truth of my Aſſertion. It is a Sore which has been long eating into the moſt vital Part of our Conſtitution, and I hope the Time will come when you will probe it to the Bottom. For if a Miniſter ſhould ever gain a corrupt Familiarity with our Boroughs, if he ſhould keep a Regiſter of them in his Cloſet, and, by ſending down his Treaſury-mandates, ſhould procure a ſpurious Repreſentative of the People, the Offspring of his Corruption, who will be at all Times ready to reconcile and juſtify the moſt contradictory Meaſures of his Adminiſtration, and even to vote every crude indigeſted Dream of their Patron into a Law; if the Maintenance of his Power ſhould become the ſole Object of their Attention, and they ſhould be guilty of the moſt violent Breach of Parliamentary Truſt, by giving the King a diſcretionary Liberty of taxing the People without Limitation or Controul; the laſt fatal Compliment they can pay to the Crown: If this ſhould ever be the unhappy Circumſtance of this Nation, the People indeed may complain; but the Doors of that Place where their Complaints ſhould be heard, will for ever be ſhut againſt them.

Anno 7 Geo. II. 1733-4

'The Power of the Crown is very juſtly apprehended to be growing to a monſtrous, I ſhould have ſaid, too great a

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Size, and ſeveral Methods have been unſucceſsfully propoſed for reſtraining it within its proper Bounds.

'But our Diſeaſe, I fear, is of a complicated Nature, and I think that this Motion is wiſely intended to remove the firſt and principal Diſorder. Give the People their antient Right of frequent new Elections; that will reſtore the decayed Authority of Parliaments, and will put our Conſtitution into a natural Condition of working out her own Cure.

'Upon the whole, I am of Opinion, that I can't expreſs a greater Zeal for his Majeſty, for the Liberties of the People, or the Honour and Dignity of this Houſe, than by ſeconding the Motion which the honourable Gentleman has made you.'

Mr. Conduit ſpoke next:

Mr. Conduit.

SIR,

'As I happen to differ in Opinion from the two honourable Gentlemen who have ſpoke in favour of this Motion, I ſhall endeavour to follow them in every Thing they have ſaid, and give my Reaſons for not thinking the Arguments they have made Uſe of any way concluſive. They have talked a great deal of our antient Conſtitution, and ſeem, I think, mighty deſirous of reverting to it; but if Gentlemen will conſider the Diſadvantages as well as the Advantages which attended every Part of our old Conſtitution, I believe they will not be ſo very fond of returning to it. I ſhall agree that there were ſuch old Statutes as have been mentioned, relating to the frequent holding of Parliaments; but that Gentlemen may recollect a little the Nature of thoſe Parliaments, and the Rights and Prerogatives which the Crown at that Time enjoyed, or at leaſt pretended to, I ſhall beg Leave to read ſome Extracts which I have taken from one of our moſt judicious Writers about Parliamentary Affairs; I mean the famous Mr *Pryne*, [*here he read ſome Extracts from his Writings, ſhewing the many Powers and Prerogatives which our Kings of old pretended to*] Thus we may ſee that the Kings of *England* had antiently ſuch Prerogatives as would be very inconſiſtent with thoſe Privileges which the People of this Nation now enjoy. This was our old Conſtitution, and I ſhould be glad to know, if it be to this Form of Government that Gentleman would not have us to return.

'The honourable Gentleman mentioned next the heavy Complaints that were made againſt King *Charles* the Firſt, and his Son King *James* the Second, and the great Misfortunes which both theſe Princes fell into by not giving Ear to thoſe Complaints: But I muſt take Notice, that theſe

now

never was a Complaint againſt either of them for continuing the ſame Parliament too long; all the Complaints againſt both were, for not calling or holding any Parliament for ſeveral Years together; and this it was that brought all their Misfortunes upon them. And as to the long Parliament in King *Charles* the Second's Reign, it is certain that there was a great deal more of Reaſon to complain againſt their Conduct during the firſt Years of their ſitting, than there was towards the latter End; ſo that no Part of the Hiſtory of either of theſe three Reigns can afford ſo much as a plauſible Argument in favour of the Motion now made to us. Anno 7 Geo. II. 1733

'It has been alledged, that the Crown muſt always neceſſarily have a much greater Influence upon Septennial Parliaments, than it can ever have upon thoſe which are choſen and continued only for three Years: But it is my Opinion, if ever the Crown ſhould attempt, if ever any Miniſtry ſhould be wicked enough to endeavour to gain a corrupt Influence over the Parliament, it will be as eaſy to gain it over the one Sort of Parliament as over the other. For if ever the Members choſen and returned, or the Majority of them, ſhould be ſuch as will ſtoop to Corruption, the Infection may be eaſily ſpread, the alluring Baits may be thrown out in ſeven Days as well as in ſeven Years; nor do I think it ſuch a Difficulty or tedious Affair to find out who may be the Perſons proper to be wrought on; that is a Knowledge that may be eaſily acquired after the Elections are over, and before it may be neceſſary for the Parliament to meet. Nay, if ever ſuch a Thing ſhould happen (which I hope never will) I am convinced it would be much more eaſy for ſuch a Miniſtry to manage a Triennial Parliament, than it will ever be to manage a Septennial: for it is well known how ſtrongly Men may be wrought on by Hopes and Promiſes; and it is certain, that by ſuch Hopes and Promiſes, ſome might be kept firmly attach'd to a Court and Miniſtry for two or three Years, who could not be kept ſo for four or five. Therefore I muſt conclude, as Hopes and Promiſes are more eaſily given than Penſions or Bribes, it would be more eaſy for the Miniſters to keep a Triennial Parliament depending upon them, than to keep a Septennial in any Sort of Dependence. And as to paſt Times, we by Experience find, that the Court has never gain'd much by long Parliaments; on the contrary, we have always found that the Party againſt the Court has gradually increas'd in Number by the long Continuance of the Parliament; inſomuch that from a ſmall Minority in the Beginning, they have often come up to very near an Equality, ſometimes to a Majority before the End; ſo that if we reaſon either from the Nature of Mankind or from Experience, we muſt conclude, that the Liberties of

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the People are better ſecured by Septennial, than they can ever be by Triennial Parliaments.

'The preſent Power of the Crown has been ſet in the moſt hideous Light, and the Number of Places now at the Diſpoſal of the Crown, has been repreſented as of the moſt dangerous Conſequence to the Independency of Parliament. But in this I muſt think that Gentlemen are likewiſe very much miſtaken; I muſt even think, that the Diſpoſal of thoſe Poſts and Places which are neceſſary for the Support of our Government, rather weakens the Influence and Intereſt of the Crown, both in the Parliament and in the Country; becauſe it is certain, that there is never any Poſt or Place to be diſpoſed of, for which there are not three or four Candidates at leaſt; the Crown can give it but to one, and by giving it to any one of the four, the other three are diſappointed and diſobliged, by which the Crown very probably raiſes up three Enemies, for the Sake of ſecuring one Friend, upon whom no very great Dependance can perhaps be had: For if it be a Place for Life, the Perſon who got it becomes then independent upon the Crown, and may ſoon come to be diſobliged, by being refuſed ſome ſecond Favour. This every Man who hears me, muſt by his own Experience be convinced of; and therefore though it be abſolutely neceſſary for the executive Part of our Government which is lodged in the Crown, to have the Diſpoſal of thoſe Poſts and Places, yet it cannot from thence be inferred, that the Power of the Crown is thereby greatly increaſed.

'The honourable Gentlemen ſeemed to inſinuate, that the principal Motive for paſſing the Septennial Bill now no longer ſubſiſted; but in this alſo I muſt beg Leave to differ from them. 'Tis true, one of the Motives for paſſing that Bill was, the great Ferment which the Nation was then in; but this was not the principal Motive, and if it had been ſo, that Motive is very far from ceaſing to ſubſiſt: Does not every Gentleman know what a Spirit of Diſcontent, nay I may ſay of Diſaffection, was artfully raiſed over the whole Nation but laſt Year? And can any Gentleman ſay that that Spirit is totally ſubſided? Or can any Gentlemen believe that there was not a great deal of the Spirit of *Jacobitiſm* at the Bottom of thoſe Diſcontents, which were then without any Ground, endeavoured to be raiſed? I am perſuaded, that the Ferment the Nation is now in, and the Ferment it was in when the Septennial Bill was paſſed into a Law, proceed originally from the ſame Cauſe, therefore I muſt take the Motive for continuing it, to be now much the ſame with that which was then for enacting it; and as the Motive is now the ſame, I hope it will prevail with this Houſe not to repeal a Law from which the Nation has received ſo great Benefit.'

Mr.

Mr. Conduit was backed by Sir Thomas Robinſon, as follows.

Sir,

Sir Thomas Robinſon.

'I cannot content my ſelf with barely giving a Negative to this Propoſition, but muſt beg your Indulgence in offering a few Reaſons which will induce me to be againſt it, and to make two or three Obſervations upon what has fallen from the honourable Gentlemen who have introduced and ſpoke in favour of it. In my opinion we ſhould fix the Duration of Parliament to a ſhorter or a longer Period, according as it will promote the Welfare of the Nation, and ſupport and ſtrengthen our preſent Conſtitution; and when that is once fixed, the Conſideration whether the Thing be popular, or unpopular, or whether it may be conſonant to the Practice of our Anceſtors, ought not to influence any Gentleman in giving his Vote. It has been ſaid by the honourable Gentleman who ſpoke firſt, that the renewing of the Triennial Bill will leſſen the Expences at Elections. I think nothing is more demonſtrable, than that frequent Elections will always occaſion frequent Expences, and other Irregularities, too notorious not to lie within the Compaſs of every Man's Obſervation; and that Men's Minds, which never fail to be inflamed in a Conteſt between two Parties, will always preſerve thoſe Heats in view of a quick Return of electing: That theſe and many other Inconveniences can be fairly charged on Triennial Elections, is indiſputably true; and if Septennial Parliaments do not entirely remove theſe Evils, at leaſt they mitigate their Influence. Gentlemen have urged, that Expences at Elections are voluntary; this is indeed in ſome meaſure true, but by this Alteration of the Law, the Temptation will never be at a great Diſtance; the Opportunity for Corruption, Idleneſs and Debauchery, will happen once in three Years, inſtead of once in ſeven; for I am afraid the Law we have lately made, which the honourable Gentleman who made the Motion has taken Notice of, cannot yet have produced the good Effect we expected from it: Reformations of any kind cannot be brought about on a ſudden, eſpecially in Things of this Nature, where the lower Claſs of the People are Parties concerned. Sir, the Law for Triennial Parliaments continued in Force for 22 Years: In that Time many Inconveniences were found from it; it was likewiſe found that in many reſpects it did not anſwer the End for which it was made. I think it lies upon thoſe Gentlemen who are Advocates for this Propoſition, and which ought to be the Foundation of their Arguments in Support of it, to ſhew us what the Evils are which are attendant upon Septennial Parliaments, and how they would be removed by the Alteration propoſed. If they had done this,

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this, if any ſuch Thing could be done, the Argument would have ſome Weight; but to me this appears ſo far from being the Caſe, that on the contrary, how many good Laws have paſſed in favour of the Subject, how little Reaſon have the People of England to be diſpleaſed with the Actions of their Repreſentatives ſince the Septennial Act took Place, which is eighteen Years ago? What has been done within every Man's Memory, cannot be liable to any Miſrepreſentation. Hiſtories of former Parliaments, or of paſt Times, may be partially related, but our own Experience cannot deceive us: And I appeal to thoſe who now hear me, whether we have yet had any Reaſon to complain of the Conduct of Septennial Parliaments. And beſides, there is no Miſchief can be done the Subject in a Septennial Parliament, which may not be done in a Triennial; but on the contrary, the ſhort Duration of a Triennial will not allow ſufficient Time to the compleating many good Undertakings, which may be accompliſhed by a Septennial; Miſchief being of its own Nature of quick Growth, and ſoon brought to Maturity; whereas Schemes for a general Good ripen by ſlow degrees, and require a Length of Time in rearing up to Perfection. Gentlemen have brought Arguments in Support of this Propoſition from the Practice and Laws of our Forefathers, and deduce the Expediency of the Triennial Bill, from the original Formation of our Conſtitution. For my Part, I do not comprehend what is meant by our old Conſtitution, and therefore when Gentlemen make uſe of the Expreſſion, our old Conſtitution, I muſt look upon it as an indefinite Term, which can admit of no direct Anſwer: But would they fix it to any Reign or Number of Years, I could undertake to ſhew, that in no Period of Time they ſhall fix on, ſince the Conqueſt, we ever had ſuch a one as we ſhould be now willing to ſubmit to, and reſt ſatisfied with: I know of no ſettled Conſtitution till the Revolution; 'tis from that happy Period I date our having any at all. It may indeed be agreeable to the antient Laws of the Realm, that there ſhould be frequent Parliaments, that is, that Parliaments ſhould be frequently holden; but from whence will Gentlemen prove, that it has been eſtabliſhed as a fundamental Maxim in what is called our old Conſtitution, that there ſhould be frequent Elections; ſure at leaſt I am, if the Nature of our Conſtitution required that there ſhould be ſuch, the Practice of our Anceſtors has not always correſponded with it. It would be a tedious Taſk to ſhew in what manner Parliaments have been called and holden, and to trace out all the Variations of our Laws, or rather Practice, in this Reſpect, ſince the Conqueſt, 200 Years after which, I believe, there was no ſuch Thing in being as a Houſe of Commons; at leaſt, if there was any ſuch Aſſembly, they met but very ſeldom. But Gentle-

entlemen's Thoughts will prevent me in what I could offer upon this Head, and therefore I ſhall not enter into a Detail of particulars with which many others may be much better acquainted; only in general, I will venture to ſay, that from the earlieſt Records of Time to the Revolution, the Crown made uſe of their Prerogative ſo far with Regard to Parliaments, that the People never knew when there would be a new Election, or how long the Power they gave their Repreſentatives when elected, might be continued to them. If we look back into our Hiſtory, we ſhall find in ſome Reigns, Parliaments choſen by the People, and diſſolved by the Crown before they were ſuffered to meet at all; in other Reigns a very long Intermiſſion of Parliaments, and in others again a Parliament perhaps in being, but for many Years ſucceſſively, not once ſuffer'd to ſit. Theſe, Sir, were real Grievances: And in this reforming Age, we ſeem to be as uneaſy, and as fond of taking Precautions againſt imaginary Dangers, as ever our Anceſtors were about providing againſt thoſe that were real. My worthy Friend and Contemporary at the Univerſity, who ſeconded the Motion, has ſhewn the Practice of ſeveral of our former Kings in this Particular, and indeed has ſpoken in favour of the Motion, with ſo much Decency and Weight, that it requires one much better ſkilled than I am in our Engliſh Hiſtory and Parliamentary Proceedings, to do the ſame Juſtice to the other ſide of the Queſtion: but he has quoted two Reigns, which will, in my Opinion, both turn againſt the Motion he has handſomely ſupported. Theſe, Sir, are the Reigns of King Charles I, and King Charles II; but before I take Notice of them, give me Leave to mention another Reign, I mean that of Queen Elizabeth, which both the worthy Gentlemen have very prudently avoided mentioning upon this Occaſion, tho' it be a Reign that is ſeldom forgot to be brought upon the Carpet, when a Compariſon is to be made, in order to depreciate the Actions and Meaſures of the preſent Times: In the long Reign of that Queen, a Reign which laſted 44 Years, there were in all but ten Parliaments choſen; in theſe ten Parliaments there were but 13 Seſſions, and except the laſt, never any one of theſe Seſſions continued many Weeks together. Betts, Sir, however glorious the Reign of that Princeſs may be in other Reſpects; yet it is certain, that in many Inſtances ſhe uſed her Parliaments in ſuch a Manner, as I hope we ſhall never ſee Parliaments treated for the future. As for the Reign of King Charles the Firſt, I little expected, Sir, that Reign would have been introduced in this Debate, eſpecially by thoſe who are Advocates for this Queſtion: for ſurely that Reign ought to be buried in Oblivion, by thoſe who would plead for the Liberty of the Subject, and are for leſſening the Prerogative of the Crown; becauſe in no preceding Reign was the

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the laſt ever carried higher, or the other in greater Danger of being utterly ſubverted and deſtroyed. Were it neceſſary for the Point I am contending for, I would undertake to prove, that as long as he had any Power, he was daily attempting, by his Prerogative, to have made Parliaments uſeleſs; and therefore I ſhall eaſily agree with the honourable Gentleman, that he neglected calling frequent new Parliaments. But give me Leave farther to obſerve, that during that King's Reign, no Parliament was called, there was not ſo much as one in Being; nay not for 12 Years together; during which Time, Hiſtory does not give the moſt favourable Account of him, with reſpect to his ſeveral Attempts upon the Liberties of his Subjects, which the honourable Gentleman has put a very handſome Gloſs upon, by ſaying, that theſe Attempts were made by Advice of Sycophants: Whoever the Authors were, Sir, the Facts are true, and the Conſequences, had they not been prevented, muſt have proved fatal to the Rights of the People. When I have ſaid this, I would not have it underſtood, as if I approved of the Steps afterwards taken, by which that Prince was brought to his tragical and untimely End; but as his Fate ought to be a Warning to all future Princes, not to make any Incroachments upon the Liberties or Privileges of the Subject, ſo it ought to be a Warning to all thoſe who are true Lovers of our Conſtitution to be extremely cautious of introducing any new Regulations or unneceſſary Amendments. And this, Sir, I take to be a Leſſon much more proper for the preſent Queſtion, than that which my honourable Friend has been pleaſed to recommend to us from the Face of that Prince; ſince the Queſtion is not now about complimenting the Crown with any new or extravagant Powers, nor about denying the People thoſe Rights which they are entitled to by Law. I was ſurpriſed, Sir, to hear the long Parliament of K. Charles II, which continued 17 Years, ſo much as mentioned by thoſe who are for ſhortening the Duration of Parliaments; for, in my Opinion, the Conduct of that Parliament, if it proves any thing, ſhews, that the long Duration of a Parliament does not neceſſarily make it entirely ſubſervient to the Will of the Prince: That Parliament has ſince been treated with great Indignity, tho' I will not now take upon me to determine whether it deſerved the Uſage it has met with from ſome People; yet I think I may ſay, that a Majority of the Members thereof, eſpecially towards the End of it, were ſteady in the Support of the Liberties of the People; and had not they made a noble Stand againſt the Attempts of the Crown in thoſe Days, we ſhould not now have been debating this Point. Thus, Sir, the Inſtance of this Parliament, if it proves any thing, I ſay, proves that the Parliament, which ſate the longeſt ever any did in England, could not be influenced by the Crown to come into

Meaſures

Meaſures inconſiſtent with the Liberties of the People: And if Gentlemen will but recollect the Annals of that Parliament they will find, that it was more ſubſervient to the Court, the firſt, ſecond and third Years, than it was the ſixth or ſeventh; and it was leſs ſo the eleventh or twelfth, than it was the ninth or tenth: And I agree with the honourable Gentleman, that the further it removed from its Original, the better Title the Members acquired to the Denomination of veteran Troops, which he has been pleaſed to compare them to; but this Title they merited for a Reaſon very different from what he has aſſigned: It was not becauſe they knew no other Command but from the Perſon who gave them their Pay, but it was becauſe they became every Day more and more obſervant of their Duty, more watchful over the Liberties of their Fellow-Subjects, and leſs tractable to the Meaſures of the Court; inſomuch that at laſt, by their perſevering in an honeſt Oppoſition to thoſe Meaſures, they forced their own Diſſolution. And this always has been, and always muſt be the Caſe, as to all Bodies of the ſame Men, when long kept together, and attempted to be ſeduced by Bribery and Corruption; for few Men are ſo entirely abandoned to Shame, but that ſooner or later they will be actuated by the love of Virtue and publick Good, which will at laſt make them ſtubbornly reſiſt the profligate Court againſt the Liberties of their Country: And this was certainly the Caſe as to that Parliament, otherwiſe King Charles would not have ſo eaſily parted with a Parliament he had been ſo long and with ſo much Expence endeavouring to form to his own arbitrary Views. Therefore, Sir, if any Argument is to be drawn from this long Parliament, it may certainly be made uſe of as the ſtrongeſt Reaſon, why a Septennial Parliament ſhould be preferred to a Triennial.

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'As a farther Proof, Sir, that the Ballance of Power in the State is demonſtrably more in favour of the People in a Parliament that hath its Duration for ſeven Years, than in one choſen every third Year; and that the Crown will always have leſs Influence in a Septennial than a Triennial Parliament: Let us but recollect what has happened ever ſince the Septennial Law took place. As the honourable Gentleman who ſpoke laſt has already obſerved, does not Experience ſhew us that every Seſſion will increaſe an oppoſing Party? Has it not been hitherto always found, that the Party againſt the Court has in every fifth or ſixth Seſſion been more in Number than it was the ſecond or third? And as no Step has been made to increaſe either the Prerogative or Power of the Crown ever ſince Septennial Parliaments have had a Being, why ſhonld we go about

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to make an Alteration in that Part of our Conſtitution, from which we have never yet felt the leaſt Inconvenience? Might not therefore a Deſire to revert back to the Practice of our Anceſtors in this Particular, be compared to a Man in his full Growth and Strength deſiring to return back to his Childhood! It has indeed been inſinuated by both the honourable Gentlemen, who have ſpoke on the other ſide of the Queſtion, that undue Influence has been attempted in Elections; that Money has been ſent down from the Treaſury to gain Returns from Boroughs in the Country; by which the Elections have been rendered ſo expenſive to the Country Gentlemen, that it is with great Difficulty they can, from their private Fortunes, ſupport ſuch Expence, or withſtand ſuch Influence: and this is indeed the principal Argument I have heard made uſe of in ſupport of this Queſtion. Tho' I am no ways privy to, nor do I believe that any ſuch Practices have been lately attempted; yet upon this Occaſion, Sir, I will for Argument's ſake ſuppoſe it to be true; I will ſuppoſe that the Court does intermeddle in Elections, and that Sums of Money have been ſent into the Country for that purpoſe; but how this comes to be owing to Septennial Parliaments, I cannot comprehend; would it not be as much in the Power of the Court to meddle in the Elections for a Triennial, as in thoſe for a Septennial Parliament? And if a Country Gentleman can ſcarce bear up againſt theſe Practices when he has ſix Years reſpite to recover the Expences and Trouble he may have been put to by ſuch Attempts on his Borough; for God's ſake! how will it ſtand with him, when the Battle is to be fought every three Years? Surely he will be then much leſs able to bear ſuch Expences, or to withſtand ſuch Influence; and, therefore, if the Court ever has endeavoured, or if it ever ſhould endeavour, to influence Elections by the Force of Money, that Influence would be much more dangerous in Triennial than in Septennial Elections. From whence I muſt be of Opinion, if this Queſtion ſhould ſucceed, it might in time more effectually eſtabliſh the abſolute Power of the Crown, and deſtroy the Liberties of the People, than any other Method that could be thought of. The worthy Gentleman who made the Motion, has told us that an Annuity for ſeven Years, is more valuable than an Annuity for three, and from thence he ſeemed to infer that a Septennial Parliament muſt be more expenſive than a Triennial, in the ſame proportion as an Annuity for ſeven Years deſerves a better Conſideration than an Annuity for three: But he does not conſider that a Parliament for ſeven Years is above twice the Duration of one for three; and that if Triennial Parliaments were to come in the place of Septennial

Septennial, a Man muſt be thrice choſen before he can continue ſo long in this Houſe, as he would do were he to be choſen for ſeven Years at once; and it is certain that the Expences or the Purchaſe (if with him we propoſe ſuch Purchaſes) of three or even of two Elections for Triennial Parliaments, will always amount to more than the Expences or the Purchaſe of one Election for a Septennial.

'If then the Expenſiveneſs of Elections be one of the Evils attendant upon Septennial Parliaments, it is certain, the changing of them into Triennial, will be ſo far from removing that Evil, that it will neceſſarily increaſe it. And I believe ſome Gentlemen will, in another Particular, find their Expectations as little anſwered by the preſent Motion: I mean, that they will not find it ſo popular a Motion among the generality of Electors, as ſome of them may imagine. It may indeed pleaſe thoſe of the Populace who have no Votes, who are fond of Noiſe and Buſtle, and who would be glad of any Change by which they might have a more frequent Chance to get drunk and be idle. It may alſo be agreeable to the lower and meaner ſort of our Electors, who have heretofore perhaps too often made their Market upon ſuch Occaſions; but to the honeſt Shopkeeper, and the quiet and fair Trader, who have no other Views but to gain a comfortable Subſiſtence, by carrying on their reſpective Trades, and to the better kind of our Freeholders, and to the Gentry in general; to all thoſe ſorts of Men, in ſhort, whoſe Inclinations we ought to have the chief Regard to, the propoſing of this Bill will be found, I believe, not to be a very proper Way of paying court. The worthy Gentlemen, Sir, who have ſpoke on the other Side of the Queſtion, make a very partial Uſe of our antient Conſtitution, when they plead for a ſhorter Duration of Parliaments; becauſe in former Times, Inſtances may be found of frequent Elections; but forget at the ſame time to remind us of the different Situation of our Affairs, both at Home and Abroad. Muſt not proper Allowances be made for the ſeveral Changes which have ſince happened in our Conſtitution, and the different Relations we now bear to foreign Nations! For without a Parity of Circumſtances, Gentlemen cannot reaſonably expect an Equality of Conſequences. Formerly Parliaments ſate but ten, fifteen, or twenty Days, and diſpatched all the Buſineſs they had before them in that Time; we now ſit four or five Months, and find ſufficient Employment: The Reaſon of this Difference is obvious; our Government has ſince gone through ſo many Changes, and the Riches and Commerce of this Nation have ſo much increaſed, that this Houſe is now engaged in a much larger Circle of Buſineſs; and at the ſame time hath aſſerted a

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Right to ſeveral Powers in the State, which, till within theſe 100 Years, the Crown has often conteſted. May not Gentlemen as well infer, becauſe ſome Parliaments in former Times have ſate but 20 Days, that we ought now to follow their Practice in this Particular, as to plead for a ſhorter Duration of Parliaments, becauſe there may be found Inſtances of annual Elections in remote Ages? Would Gentlemen, Sir, who ſpeak ſo favourably of antient Times, have our Parliaments brought again to be entirely upon the ſame Foot they were formerly? Surely, No! As the Law now ſtands, the Crown cannot poſſibly prolong a Parliament beyond ſeven Years; and as the Affairs of the Publick are now diſpoſed, it muſt neceſſarily meet every Year. Formerly the Crown could keep a Parliament in Being without any Limitation of Time for their Diſſolution, and, as I have ſaid before, did ſometimes prevent them, though elected, from ever meeting; nay, at other Times, there has been for many Years together a total Intermiſſion of Parliaments. I therefore really think, no one can make the leaſt Compariſon on this Head; at leaſt I ſuppoſe the worthy Gentlemen would not be willing to return to the Practice of preceding Times in theſe Particulars. In ſhort, Sir, I think the Septennial Act as well adapted to our preſent Conſtitution, as well calculated to anſwer the Purpoſes and ſecure the Freedom of Parliaments, as any Regulation that can be made; and I do not know any one particular Inſtance in which our Liberty and Conſtitution have been more ſtrengthened and improved ſince the Revolution, than by thoſe Laws which have been made relative to the Chuſing, Sitting, and Duration of Parliaments. Before I leave this Subject, I muſt take this Opportunity to return my Thanks to the Honourable Gentleman who called for the reading of the Septennial Act, becauſe the Preamble put me in mind of our being indebted to that Law for the Prevention of a ſecond Rebellion: I am convinced, that it was to that ſeaſonable Alteration we then owed the Preſervation of our Tranquillity, and perhaps every Thing that is dear to us; for the Minds of the People were at that Time ſo exaſperated and inflamed, the Spirit of Jacobitiſm was got to ſuch a Height in the Nation, that had an Election come on, after the firſt Parliament of the late King ought to have expired by the Triennial Act, 'tis not hard to ſay what fatal Conſequences might have enſued. But I neither mention this as thinking it entirely our preſent Situation, or to draw an Argument from thence, in ſupport of what I am contending for; however I muſt ſay, that the recollecting how much we owe to the Septennial Act, makes me the more unwilling to part with it. 'Tis like Friendſhip

in private Life, where we have once eſtabliſhed a thorough good Opinion of a Man, and have received great Favours from him, it is with Difficulty, it is with great Concern, we are prevailed on to give Credit to any Thing that may tend to his Diſadvantage. Many Inſtances might be brought, Sir, to ſhew the Inconveniences that would attend the Succeſs of the Bill now propoſed to us; but as I have already taken up much more of your Time than I at firſt intended, I ſhall only mention one, which is, The great Hindrance it might be in the Diſpatch of our Foreign Negotiations. As we have been within Doors often told of Reports without Doors, I muſt take the Liberty to mention one which we have heard both within and without. Have we not often heard without Doors, have not we been told in a former Debate in this Houſe, that ſeveral Letters have been lately ſent to foreign Courts, in order to diſcourage them from treating with us at this critical Juncture, by aſſuring them that the next enſuing Parliament will be of a Complexion very different from this. I cannot in the leaſt ſuppoſe that ſuch Letters were either written or concerted by any one within theſe Walls; but I muſt preſume the Authors are by this Time convinced of their Error, ſince I find ſo much Pains has lately been taken, and ſo much Rhetorick employed, both in Weekly and other Papers, to perſuade us of the Inconvenience of the Septennial Act, and the Neceſſity for repealing it; from whence I conclude, that thoſe Gentlemen who were the Authors of ſuch Letters, begin now to ſee that they will be diſappointed in their Expectations; and in order to make Amends for this Diſappointment, they are for repealing the Septennial Act, that they may have a freſh Opportunity of taking another Trial four Years hence. But be this as it will, it is certain, that what I have juſt mentioned may be practiſed, and will always be an Inconvenience and a Hindrance in the carrying on of our foreign Affairs, towards the End of a Septennial Parliament: And ſhall we by a new Law give an Opportunity and a Temptation to the Enemies of the Government, to repeat thoſe and ſuch like Practices and Suggeſtions, to the great Prejudice of the Nation, at the end of every three Years. Before I conclude, Sir, I cannot help obſerving, that during the ſeven Years I have ſat in Parliament I have heard many Queſtions introduced into this Houſe which have very much ſurprized me. Among others I have heard a Propoſition made, which, as it appeared to me, would have made the Army uſeleſs upon any Emergency, when we might have had the greateſt Occaſion for their Service. I have heard another Motion for making a perpetual Law to regulate an annual Conſtitution, which would indeed have

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have had a quite different Effect from the former; for in Proceſs of Time this laſt Queſtion, had it ſucceeded, might have made the Army our Sovereign, and King, Lords and Commons, inſignificant: And the Propoſition now before us, would, in my Opinion, tend to weaken our greateſt Security; I mean the Landed Intereſt of the Kingdom, by giving them frequent and unneceſſary Temptations to extraordinary Expences, and might farther introduce new Calamities and Confuſions into this Nation. What other Queſtion can follow to keep Rank with thoſe, I cannot divine; but the Spirit of Reformation ſeems to be now ſo very much the Faſhion, I do not doubt but fertile Imaginations will always find, and will never be at a loſs for, popular Topicks to introduce. —— No State, Sir, was ever ſo exactly framed in all its Parts, as not to make new Laws ſometimes neceſſary to remedy the Evils which Time and Corruption may bring upon it; and for this Reaſon every State is inveſted with a Power of altering or repealing old Laws, and ſubſtituting new in their ſtead, where thoſe exiſting are found to be deficient: In this I ſhall agree with the Honourable Gentlemen; but give me Leave farther to obſerve, that this Power may be made uſe of to the Overthrow as well as the Support of the Conſtitution: And therefore when we proceed to the Exerciſe of this Part of the Legiſlative Power, eſpecially in Things which relate to the very Fundamentals of our Conſtitution, the worthy Gentlemen will, I hope, agree with me, that we ought to uſe it with the greateſt Prudence and Caution. —— At preſent, Sir, I think our Conſtitution is ſo well regulated in all its Parts, the Scales are ſo juſtly poiſed, as not to want any new modelling, nor any additional Weight to be thrown into the other Scale: We muſt be all ſo ſenſible of the Happineſs we enjoy under our Conſtitution, as now eſtabliſhed, that our chief Concern and Study ought to be how to preſerve it in the happy Situation it is now in; and if we can tranſmit it to our Poſterity in the ſame Luſtre and Perfection we now clearly perceive it to be in, our Succeſſors will have no juſt Reaſon to accuſe the preſent Generation of having made an ill Uſe of that great Truſt which is repoſed in every Man who has a Voice in this Place. All Changes, tho' never ſo well intended, are hazardous; but as the Change now propoſed appears to me, I think it would certainly have a quite different Effect from what thoſe worthy Gentlemen expect who are the Advocates for it: I am perſuaded, that inſtead of amending or improving, it would weaken the Conſtitution; and therefore, I think it a Duty I owe my Country to give my Diſſent to it, in this publick manner.'

Sir

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Sir Thomas Robinſon having done ſpeaking, Lord Noel Somerſet ſtood up, and ſpoke thus,

Lord Noel Somerſet.

SIR,

'Though the honourable Gentleman who made this Motion, and the honourable Gentleman who ſeconded it, have ſupported it in ſo ſtrong and handſome a Manner, that an Attempt to add any Thing to what they have ſaid, may be looked on as Preſumption; yet I cannot help declaring my Approbation of the Motion in the beſt and moſt publick Manner I am able.

'The honourable Gentleman who read you a long Extract out of Maſter Prynne, ſeemed rather, in my Opinion, to divert than inſtruct the Houſe; and though I could not join with Gentlemen in their Mirth upon ſo ſerious a Debate, yet I muſt own I cannot conceive to what purpoſe that long Extract was read to us upon the preſent Occaſion: Nor can I ſee what the Queſtion now before us has to do with the Prerogative of the Crown, either as now enjoyed, or as claimed in any Time paſt. Becauſe Gentlemen have mentioned our old Conſtitution, and have taken notice of a particular Regulation with reſpect to the holding of Parliaments, which was then in force, and which they deſire to be re-eſtabliſhed; is it from thence to be inferred, that they deſire to reſtore, in all its Parts, our ancient Conſtitution, as it ſtood at any Period of Time? No, when we talk of our old Conſtitution, with Regard to any Amendment or Alteration now propoſed, we are to pick out thoſe Cuſtoms, which appear to be good, and which ought to be reſtored; and we are to reject thoſe which appear to have been bad.

'The Queſtion now before us, is not whether our Conſtitution be now in the general better regulated than it ever was at any former Period: The Queſtion now before us is particular; it is, Whether our Conſtitution, with reſpect to the holding of Parliaments, was ever under a better Regulation than it is at preſent? And that it was ſo, ſeems to me to be demonſtrable from the very Nature and Deſign of Parliaments; for this Houſe is properly the grand Inqueſt of the Nation, they are to repreſent the Grievances of the People to their Sovereign; and the People are always to chooſe proper Repreſentatives for that Purpoſe: that Choice ought therefore to be annual, becauſe the Perſon that may be a proper Repreſentative one Year, may before the next, or at leaſt very ſoon after, be concerned in making the People ſuffer thoſe very Grievances which they want to complain of; and ſurely ſuch Perſon would not be then a proper Repreſentative of the People.

This

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'This was our old Conſtitution, with reſpect to the holding of Parliaments: They were, or at leaſt ought to have been, not only annually held, but annually choſen. It is well known that Prorogations are but of a late Date; they were firſt introduced to favour the Arbitrary Views of ſome of our ambitious Kings; and as they owed their Origin to ſuch a corrupt Fountain, I am perſuaded we never can expect any Good from them. However, the Queſtion now before us does not go far, nor are we obliged to have recourſe to remote Ages for a Precedent for what is now propoſed. When we now talk of our old Conſtitution, we are to conſider it as it was ſettled and reformed at the Revolution, and at that Time, as has been before obſerved, the Patrons of Liberty did not think their Work was compleat, without having the Point fully and clearly ſettled; and therefore they were never at Reſt, till they had obtained that very Law which is now deſired to be reſtored: For this Reaſon I cannot but think, that Gentlemen have given themſelves a very unneceſſary Trouble in explaining to us ſo particularly the Hiſtory of former Reigns, or the Complaints againſt former Kings; for the not holding any Parliament at all, or the continuing the ſame Parliament for a great Number of Years is in Effect the ſame: in the laſt Caſe, as well as the firſt, the People have no Opportunity of having their Grievances either repreſented or redreſſed, becauſe after a Number of Years the Members may either become unacquainted with, and regardleſs of the Grievances of the People, or they may themſelves have ſo great a Hand in thoſe Grievances, that for their own ſelfiſh Ends they will prevent their being redreſſed.

It has been ſaid, that the reſtoring of this Law would create great Heats, and raiſe dangerous Contentions in the Nation. If it were a new Law, a Law which we had never any Experience of, this Argument might have ſome Weight; but the direct contrary of this is known to be true from the Experience we had of it, while it was allowed to continue in Force. Beſides, this is one of thoſe Arguments that prove too much; for it is as good an Argument for us to continue ourſelves for ſeven Years longer, or indeed for a perpetual Parliament, as it is for a Septennial: And it is an Argument that has in all Countries been made uſe of for ſubverting the Liberties of the People. In all free Countries there muſt now and then happen ſome little Feuds and Diviſions among the People, which ambitious wicked Men have uſed all their Cunning and all their Eloquence to ſet in the moſt terrible Light, and under the Pretence of preventing

thoſe

thoſe Feuds and Diviſions, have in moſt Countries prevailed upon the People to give up, or at leaſt to allow themſelves to be robbed of thoſe Privileges which were their only Defence againſt Tyranny and Arbitrary Power.

'Another Objection againſt this Motion is, that a Septennial Parliament is neceſſary for eſtabliſhing and confirming our Credit abroad. If this be yet to do, if our Credit abroad remains yet to be either eſtabliſhed or confirmed, I will ſay that we have lately ſpent many Millions, and have made many Treaties to very little purpoſe. Is not this likewiſe an Argument for ſettling the Duration of our Parliaments at a much longer Term? For if our Credit abroad were any Way ſtrengthen'd by a Parliament to continue for ſeven Years, would it not be much more ſo by a Parliament to continue for Seven Times Seven? But this is not the Caſe; our foreign Neighbours judge better of the Condition and Circumſtances of this Nation, than ſome of ourſelves ſeem to do; our Credit among them depends on their believing that there is an Union and mutual Confidence between the King and his People; and is there any Thing can tend more towards leſſening their Belief in this Reſpect, than their hearing that the King does not incline to truſt his People with a frequent Choice of their own Repreſentatives? Will not every Man from thence conclude, that either the People are diſaffected, or that the Government is purſuing ſuch Meaſures as they think may not be agreeable to the generality of the People? And I believe it will be allow'd that ſuch a Notion would not contribute much towards eſtabliſhing or confirming our Credit abroad.

'While no Meaſures are purſued but ſuch as are for the Honour and Intereſt of the Nation, it is certain that a Parliament ſent here by the free Choice of the People for three Years, or even but for one, would be as ready to confirm thoſe Meaſures as a Parliament ſent here for ſeven Years. But if ever it ſhould hereafter happen, that Meaſures, even deſtructive to the Nation, ſhould be purſued, only to ſave and ſupport a falling Miniſter, or by Way of temporary Expedient only, to put off the evil Day during his Time; he might indeed have a better Chance to get ſuch Meaſures confirmed and approved of by the Members of a Septennial Parliament, who had ſuch a long Term to reap the Fruits of their ſervile Compliance, than he could have to get ſuch Meaſures confirmed or approved of by the Members of an Annual or Triennial Parliament, who muſt ſoon return to the People for their Approbation or Diſapprobation of what they haddone: And a Parliamentary Acquittal would be of much more Conſequence in the firſt Caſe

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than in the laſt; for if an Annual or Triennial Parliament ſhould be ſervile enough to approve of Meaſures contrary to the general Senſe of the Nation, the People would ſoon have an Opportunity of doing themſelves Juſtice in a new Parliament; but if the People were to have no ſuch Opportunity for ſeven Years, it might then be out of their Power.

'It has been ſaid, that frequent new Parliaments would produce frequent Changes in our Adminiſtration, ſo that we never could ſteadily purſue any Meaſure Foreign or Domeſtick. As to Changes in our Adminiſtration, if Triennial or Annual Parliaments ſhould produce Triennial or Annual Miniſters, it would give me no great Concern, and I dare ſay, the Nation very little Uneaſineſs. But how this ſhould make us unſteady or unſettled in the purſuit of our publick Meaſures, foreign or domeſtick, I cannot, indeed, conceive; for if the Meaſures were apparently for the Good of the Publick, the New Miniſters would, doubtleſs, for their own Honour and Safety, purſue them as ſteadily as the Old could have done; and if the Old had entered on Meaſures inconſiſtent with the Good of the Nation, here the Change of the Miniſtry would be lucky for us: So that, if nothing elſe could be ſaid in favour of the Motion, this very Argument would be ſufficient with me to give my Vote for it.'

The Honourable Mr. John Cornwallis ſpoke next againſt the Motion.

Mr. J. Cornwallis.

SIR,

'I have indeed heard ſome Mention made without Doors of the Propoſition now under our Conſideration; but I never expected to have heard it moved in this Houſe, eſpecially at a Time when the Circumſtances of Europe ought to prevent our attempting any thing that may in the leaſt tend towards weakening our Conſtitution, or unſettling the Meaſures of his Majeſty's Government. As for my own part, Sir, the Queſtion can no ways affect me: Let it be agreed to, or let it be rejected, as to my particular Circumſtances they will remain the ſame; but as we are not to regard our private or particular Intereſt, but that of the whole Community, in every Queſtion that ariſes in this Houſe; I therefore think I am obliged not only to give my Vote againſt this Queſtion, but to give my Reaſons, at leaſt the principal Reaſon which induces me to be againſt it: and it is this, That, in my Opinion, the Motion ſeems calculated for no other End but to continue that Ferment and that Spirit of Diviſion and Diſaffection which was ſo artfully raiſed in the Nation, upon a late memorable Occaſion,

Occaſion, and which has already almoſt ſubſided, and muſt entirely ſubſide, as ſoon as the People ſhall have come to their Senſes, ſo as to be able to judge coolly and impartially about that Affair. But this they could never come to do, if the preſent Motion ſhould ſucceed; the Nation would be kept always in a Ferment, the Diviſions about one Election would no ſooner be over, than thoſe about another would begin, and the Paſſions of the People would be every Year ſcrewed up by ſome new Art, in order to ſupport or render ſucceſsful the ambitious Views of ſome private Men. This would of courſe very much weaken his Majeſty's Government, and diminiſh his Influence in all foreign Negotiations; for which Reaſon I ſhall moſt heartily give my Vote againſt the Motion now made to us.'

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After him Colonel Bladen roſe up, and ſaid,

SIR,

Col. Bladen.

'I cannot give my Aſſent to the Queſtion now in your Hand. The Repeal of the Septennial Law is a Motion I cannot in my Conſcience agree to; for tho' one of the Motives for enacting that Law does not at preſent exiſt in ſuch an apparent manner, as it did at the Time it was enacted, yet it cannot be ſaid, that even that Motive has now entirely ceaſed; I wiſh with all my Heart it could be juſtly ſaid, that there is not now a Jacobite or diſaffected Perſon in the Nation; but I am afraid no ſuch thing can be juſtly ſaid for many Years to come, and therefore even that Motive, which the honourable Gentlemen, who have ſpoke upon the other ſide of the Queſtion, have ſaid to be the only Motive for enacting this Law, has not yet entirely ceaſed: But, Sir, this was not the ſole and only Motive for enacting that Law; if Gentlemen had given Attention to the Preamble of that Law, they would have found many other Reaſons mentioned for enacting it, which are now as ſtrong for continuing it as they were then for enacting it.

'It has been ſaid, Sir, that this Law has been attended with ſeveral Inconveniences, which I cannot ſay I was ever ſenſible of; and I think they have not yet been made ſufficiently appear by any of the Gentlemen who have ſpoke in this Debate; but, granting that there were any ſuch, is this a Time to repeal a Law which has been productive of ſo much Good, and which ſo much ſtrengthens his Majeſty's Government, only becauſe it has been found to be attended with a few trifling Inconveniencies? I cannot think that the Gentlemen who talk at this rate are ſo ignorant of human Affairs, as they now pretend to be; they muſt certainly know, that all human Inſtitutions are attended with Inconveniences, and all that the wiſeſt of Men can do, is to

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chuſe thoſe Regulations which are attended with the fewest and the leaſt dangerous Inconveniences, and which tend moſt to the Security and the Happineſs of their native Country: When Gentlemen conſider in this Light the Septennial Law which now exiſts, and the Triennial Law which was for good Reaſons repealed, they will, I believe, at all Times, but eſpecially at the preſent, give the Preference to the former.

'Let us, Sir, but conſider the preſent Situation of the Affairs of Europe; Italy ſwallowed up by France and her Allies; numerous Armies on the Rhine threatning to penetrate into the very Bowels of the Empire; our old Allies, the Dutch, reduced to the low Ebb of begging a Neutrality from France, for their Barrier in Flanders. In ſuch a State of foreign Affairs, is it to be imagined, that Great Britain can remain quiet, or indulge herſelf in a State of Eaſe and Security! No, ſurely, Sir, we muſt concert proper Meaſures to prevent the Balance of Power in Europe from being quite overturned: We muſt look in Time to the Preſervation of that Balance which has already coſt this Nation ſo much Blood and Treaſure; and, at ſuch a Conjuncture ought we to repeal that Law which ſtrengthens his Majeſty's Hands, which gives Steadineſs to his Councils, and adds Weight to his Negotiations with foreign Powers? Or ſhall we ſubſtitute in its Place a Law which would throw the Nation every two or three Years into ſuch Diſtractions and Confuſions as Elections are always attended with?

'Would not this, Sir, be giving the Enemies of his Majeſty's Government at home, in Conjunction with his Enemies abroad, ſo many Opportunities of diſtreſſing his Majeſty's Government, of throwing all Things into Confuſion, and perhaps of deſtroying that Eſtabliſhment, and that Family to which we owe the Preſervation of all that is dear to us? God forbid, Sir, that this Houſe ſhould be ſo much wanting in that Duty they owe to his Majeſty, in that Duty they owe to their Country, as to do any thing that might tend to the diſtreſſing of his Government, or to the diſturbing the Peace and Quiet of their Country. I hope the Houſe will excuſe me for taking up ſo much of their Time: I could ſay a great deal more againſt the Motion now before us, but the Subject has been ſo much exhauſted, and every Argument in favour of it ſo fully anſwered by my worthy Friend under the Gallery, who ſpoke early in this Debate, that I think I need not now add any thing farther, but ſhall moſt heartily give my Vote againſt it.'

Mr.

Mr. Watkin Williams Wynne.

Mr. Watkin Williams Wynne ſpoke next:

SIR,

'I am ſurpriſed to hear it inſinuated by the honourable Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, as if the Motion now before us was made with a View to diſtreſs his Majeſty's Government, or to diſturb the Peace of the Nation. Such an Inſinuation is really not treating the Gentlemen, who have ſpoke in favour of this Motion, with that Candour which one Gentleman has reaſon to expect from another in this Houſe; nor, indeed, can I look upon it as any Compliment made to his Majeſty or his Government: It is not to be doubted but that his Majeſty, in all the Meaſures he purſues, looks a little further than this Houſe. It is not to be queſtioned but that his Majeſty looks for the Approbation of the Generality of his People, as well as the Majority of his Parliament; and while his Meaſures are approved of by the Generality of his People, frequent Elections cannot ſurely bring any Diſtreſs upon his Government, but will greatly ſtrengthen it, by ſhewing frequently to his Majeſty, and to the whole World, the true Senſe of the Generality of the People. As to the Peace of the Nation, we know, by Experience, that it was as well preſerved by Triennial Parliaments, as ever it was by Septennial, ſo that the agreeing to this Motion cannot diſturb the Peace, but the rejecting it may very probably have ſuch an Effect; for the Generality of the People ſo earneſtly deſire to have Triennial Parliaments reſtored to them; that the refuſing to comply with their Deſire cannot but increaſe the Number of the Diſaffected, which may at laſt throw all Things into Confuſion, and may perhaps deſtroy that Eſtabliſhment, to which we owe every thing that is dear to us.

'I ſhall readily grant, Sir, that ever ſince we have had Septennial Parliaments, our Elections have been generally attended with Diſtractions and Confuſions; but I cannot allow that this would be the Caſe if our Elections were Annual, or even Triennial; they would then be carried on with much leſs Heat and Animoſity; for every Man knows that the Diſturbances about Elections have been much greater ſince the Septennial Bill took place, than ever they were before: and I would gladly ask Gentlemen, if before that Time it was ever known that the Sollicitations and Contentions about Elections began two Years before the chuſing of a new Parliament, which is known to be the Caſe at preſent over the whole Kingdom, and which always muſt neceſſarily be the Caſe; it being natural for Men to contend with more Vigour and with more Heat

for

Anno 7 Geo. II. 1733-4

for a Poſt either of Honour or Profit, that is to be enjoyed for ſeven Years, than for one that is to be enjoyed but for one, or for three.

'Then, Sir, as to Bribery and Corruption at Elections, I am ſure it has very much increaſed ſince the Septennial Law took place. It is a natural Conſequence of lengthening the Time of a Parliament's Continuance; a Conſequence ſo natural, that I am ſurpriſed to find it ſo much miſtaken as it ſeems to be, by ſome Gentlemen who have ſpoken upon the other ſide of the Queſtion. It is certain, Sir, that Bribery will never be made uſe of at any Election, but by a Man who has not a ſufficient natural Intereſt in the Place where he declares himſelf a Candidate; and by ſuch we may expect it will always be made uſe of, as far as it can be done with Safety, if the Candidate has but the leaſt Hopes of ſucceeding by ſuch diſhonourable Means. Where there happens a Competition, every Elector has a natural Byaſs to vote for one Man rather than another, and every Elector will vote according to his natural Byaſs, if he is not bought off: whoever endeavours to buy him off, muſt certainly come up to his Price, and this Price will be higher or lower, according to the Elector's Honour and Circumſtances, and the natural Byaſs he has for the other Candidate. A great many Men may be perhaps bought off with 100 or 1000 Guineas, who, if half that Sum were offered, would ſpurn it away with an honeſt Diſdain. I hope, Sir, there are a great many Electors in this Kingdom, whoſe Honour, upon ſuch Occaſions, is above the Power of any ſuch corrupt Temptations, but that there are likewiſe a great many who may be bought, is a Fact which, I believe, no Gentleman in this Houſe will diſpute; and in this View let us examine the Difference between Triennial and Septennial Parliaments.

'Give me Leave then to ſuppoſe two Gentlemen ſet up in Oppoſition to each other, for repreſenting one of our little Boroughs in Parliament; one of them a Country Gentleman, of a great natural Intereſt in the Place, the other a Citizen of London, or a Place-man, not near equal to him in Intereſt, but depending entirely upon the Money he is able to lay out: Suppoſe the Citizen, or Place-man, comes to a Calculation, and finds that it will coſt him at leaſt 3000 l. to buy the Country Gentleman out of his Intereſt in that Borough; if the Parliament were to continue but for three Years, he would, very probably, reſolve not to be at ſuch an Expence, and ſo would refrain from being guilty of the Crime of corrupting his Countrymen; but when the Parliament is to continue for ſeven Years, he may as probably reſolve to be at that Charge. Thus, by Corrup-

tion

tion he may get a Seat in this Houſe, and it is to be feared, that he who comes in here by Corruption, will not walk out with clean Hands. 7 Geo. II. A.D. 1733-4.

'Gentlemen are very much miſtaken if they imagine, that the Price of an Elector depends upon the Duration of a Parliament, or that a Man who ſells his Vote for 100 Guineas at an Election of a Septennial Parliament, would ſell his Vote for the half of that Sum, if the Parliament to be choſen were to continue only for three Years. No, Sir, there are very few of this ſort of Electors, who think of Futurity; the preſent Offer is the Temptation, and the only Temptation which can be of any weight with them: Beſides, they cannot depend upon having the like Offer made them at the next Election; and 50 Guineas ready Money, with an uncertain Hope of having 50 more three Years hence, is not ſurely ſo great a Price as 100 Guineas ready down: The natural Intereſt of the Country Gentlemen, and the Honour of the Electors, are what the Dealers in Corruption have to contend with, and againſt theſe a ſmall Price cannot be ſo prevalent as one a little higher. Some may, perhaps, be corrupted by a ſmall Price, but certainly the higher it is, the greater will the Numbers be that are tempted to yield to it; and as a Man may give a higher Price at the Election for a Septennial Parliament, than he can do at one for an Annual or Triennial, therefore the greater the Numbers will be of thoſe who yield to his Temptation, the more he may depend upon Corruption; and the more it is to be depended on, the more general and the more frequent will it certainly be. From hence it appears evident, that the Increaſe of Bribery and Corruption is as natural a Conſequence of Septennial Parliaments, as any one Thing can be conceived to be the Conſequence of another.

'There is no way, Sir, of effectually preventing Corruption, but by putting it out of the Power of any Man to corrupt: There is no corrupting any Man but by coming up to his Price; therefore the only way of putting it out of the Power of any Man to corrupt, is to put it out of the Power of any Man to come up to the Price of any Number of Electors; and this can only be done by making our Elections frequent: The more frequent the better. It is certain, a Gentleman who enjoys a good Penſion for ſeven Years, is more able to give a high Price, than if he had enjoyed that Penſion but for one Year, or even for three; and he will more willingly give a high Price, when he is thereby to purchaſe the Continuance of that Penſion for ſeven Years, than when he is to purchaſe it only for one or for three Years. This, Sir, is

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Anno 7 Geo. II. 1733-4.

ſo evident, that I am aſtoniſhed to hear it controverted within theſe Walls.

'If our Parliaments were annual, it would be impoſſible for Place-men or Penſioners to ſave as much yearly as would be ſufficient to bribe Country Gentlemen out of their Intereſt, and the Electors out of their Honeſty; which I am afraid is a Practice now too frequent in many Parts of this Kingdom: How can it otherwiſe be imagined that the People would chuſe Perſons they never ſaw, Perſons they perhaps never heard of, in Oppoſition to Gentlemen who live in the Neighbourhood; Gentlemen who give them daily Employment, by buying in their Shops and Markets all the Manufactures and Proviſions they have uſe for in their Families, and Gentlemen whoſe Anceſtors have, perhaps, often repreſented that very Place in Parliament with great Honour and univerſal Approbation? I remember, Sir, I was told by a Gentleman who is now dead, and therefore I may name him, I mean Mr. Spencer Cowper, afterwards one of the Judges of the Common-Pleas, he told me himſelf that he had never been in the Borough he repreſented in Parliament, nor had ever ſeen or ſpoke with any of his Electors; and I believe I could, without much Difficulty, name ſome who are now in the ſame Situation. Can ſuch, Sir, be called the Repreſentatives of the People, or can it be ſuppoſed that they are choſen by Means of that natural Intereſt by which every Man ought to hold his Seat in this Houſe?

'The Parliament, Sir, is the great Council of the Nation, and the Buſineſs of this Houſe in particular is to repreſent to his Majeſty the Grievances of the People, to inform his Majeſty if any of his Miniſters or Officers make an ill uſe of the Power he delegates to them, and to impeach and proſecute ſuch evil Miniſters. Now I would be glad to know who are the moſt proper Repreſentatives for theſe Purpoſes, Gentlemen who have large Properties in the Country, who are independent of the Miniſters and Officers of the Crown, and who by living in the Country are perfectly acquainted with the Circumſtances of the People; or Gentlemen who for their chief Support depend upon the Miniſters and Officers of the Crown, who know nothing of thoſe they repreſent, and are not only ignorant of their true Intereſts, but are really indifferent about their Welfare. I hope it will not be controverted, but that the firſt ſort of Gentlemen are the moſt proper Repreſentatives of the People; and if ſo, Annual or Triennial Parliaments are better than Septennial, becauſe there is a greater Probability of their being chiefly compoſed of ſuch Gentlemen.

'As Bribery and Corruption, therefore, is a natural Consequence of long Parliaments, as it muſt always increaſe in Proportion as the Term for the Parliament's Continuance is prolonged, I am perſuaded that all thoſe who are againſt Bribery and Corruption, will join with me in voting for the Reſtitution of Triennial Parliaments. It is not the Expence of an Election that Country Gentlemen are to be afraid of; the moſt extravagant Entertainments that a Stranger in the Country could give, would have but little weight, if to theſe he did not add downright Bribery; and even thoſe Bribes muſt be ſo high, as to overballance the natural Intereſt of the Country Gentleman, as well as the Honeſty of the greateſt Part of the Electors: As theſe Bribes cannot be made ſo high for a Triennial Parliament, as they may be for a Septennial, they cannot be ſo prevalent among the Electors; and therefore a Gentleman, who depends upon nothing but his natural Intereſt, will always have a better Lay for repreſenting his Country in a Triennial Parliament, than he can have for repreſenting it in one which is to continue for ſeven Years; for which Reaſon I cannot but think that every Gentleman, who has a mind that his Poſterity ſhall depend for their Seats in Parliament, upon the natural Intereſt they may have in their reſpective Countries, and not upon the Frowns or the Favours of the Miniſter for the Time being, muſt neceſſarily be for our returning to our former Conſtitution in this reſpect. This, Sir, is, in my Opinion, abſolutely neceſſary, and it muſt be ſoon done, otherwiſe Country Gentlemen, tired out with contending againſt thoſe who purchaſe their Elections, perhaps with the very Money which the Country Gentlemen are obliged to pay out of their Eſtates in publick Duties and Taxes, will at laſt have nothing to do but to ſit down and bemoan the Fate of their Country: but their Complaints will then be to very little purpoſe, for the Doors of that Place, where the Groans of the People ought to be heard, will then be ſhut againſt them. We may depend on it that thoſe, who obtain their Seats in this Houſe by Miniſterial Influence, will, while here, be directed in all their Proceedings by the ſame ſort of Influence, and by none other.

Anno 7 Geo. II. 1733-4.

'To conclude, Sir, I am very certain that there is nothing would be more agreeable to the People in general, than the Repeal of the Septennial Law; and therefore I, as one of the Repreſentatives of the People choſen without Bribery or Corruption, and as one who has nothing to conſider but the Intereſt of thoſe I repreſent, ſhall readily vote for the Motion.'

Anno 7 Geo. II. 1733-4.

Then Mr. Willes * ſpoke againſt the Motion.

Mr. Willes.

SIR,

'I have given all poſſible Attention to what has been ſaid by Gentlemen, on both ſides of this Queſtion; and I muſt confeſs, I cannot yet ſee any manner of Reaſon for agreeing to the Motion. Gentlemen have been pleaſed to put us in mind of our ancient Conſtitution; but it has been ſo often varied and altered, that it will be found very difficult to fix upon a Time when it was ſuch as we ought or would deſire to return to: And if any Time is to be fixed on, we are not ſurely to take the Time when our Conſtitution was weak and in its Infancy, we are certainly to chuſe that Time when it was come to its full Strength and Vigour, which, in my Opinion, is the preſent. But as Gentlemen have mentioned the Claim of Rights, let us examine how it ſtood at that Time, for I am perſuaded it will be agreed to by every Gentleman in this Houſe, that after that Claim was ſettled and confirmed, our Conſtitution was more vigorous than it ever was before that Time; and yet even in our Claim of Rights there is no Mention made of frequent new Parliaments: It is indeed ſaid, that for Redreſs of Grievances, and for amending, ſtrengthening and preſerving the Laws, Parliaments ought to be held frequently; but it is not ſo much as inſinuated, that every one of theſe Parliaments ought to be a new Parliament; and as to the Frequency of Parliaments, I am ſure there never was leſs Reaſon for Complaint than ſince the Septennial Bill paſſed; for ever ſince that Time the Seſſions have been regularly held, and all of them have been allowed to ſit as long as it was neceſſary or proper they ſhould.

'But, Sir, even by the Claim of Rights our Conſtitution was not ſo well regulated or eſtabliſhed as it is at preſent: It was ſtill left in the Power of the King to continue a Parliament as long as he pleaſed, and this certainly might have become a Grievance upon the People. This Overſight the whole Nation were ſenſible of, and this they were willing to obviate; but in all ſuch Caſes, People generally run from one Extreme to another; the Paſſions of Men are ſomething like a Pendulum, if they are raiſed too high on one Side, they always riſe too high on the other; it requires Time before they come to ſettle in the Equilibrium of Reaſon. This was the very Caſe with reſpect to the Triennial Bill, which was paſſed in the Reign of

* *Chief Juſtice of Cheſter, made Attorney-General in the Beginning of this Seſſion, in the room of Sir Philip York, appointed Lord Chief Juſtice of the Court of King's Bench.*

of King William: The Paſſions of the People were raiſed high againſt the unlimited Prerogative of the Crown, in continuing a Parliament as long as the King had a mind; this the Enemies of the Government took hold of, in order to introduce a Law by which the Prerogative was in this reſpect limited too much: for it is well known that the Triennal Act was neither introduced nor promoted by the Patrons of Liberty, or the real Friends to that King's Government; it was by thoſe who meant to diſtreſs the Meaſures of that good Prince, to whom their native Country, nay even they themſelves, ſtood ſo much indebted. They at laſt prevailed, they got that Law paſſed, which after a long Experience was found to be of dangerous Conſequence to the Peace of the Nation, and to the Quiet of the Subject; and therefore the Septennial Bill was agreed to, which is a moſt reaſonable Mean between the one Extreme of leaving the Prerogative of the Crown in this reſpect unlimited, and the other Extreme of limiting this Prerogative too much, by laying the Crown under a Neceſſity of calling a new Parliament once in three Years, whether it be conſiſtent with the Peace and Security of the Nation or not. From whence, Sir, I think I have good Reaſon to be of Opinion, that our Conſtitution is now in its utmoſt Perfection. I was indeed glad to hear Encomiums beſtowed by an Honourable Gentleman upon the late King William, becauſe ſuch ſeldom come from the Corner of the Houſe where he ſits; but if that glorious King had been limited to Septennial Parliaments only, and not to Triennial, the future Happineſs of this Nation would have been better ſecured, and more firmly eſtabliſh'd by him; he would not have been obliged to have put an End to the War ſo ſoon as he did, or to have agreed to thoſe Treaties, which were afterwards ſo loudly complained of; the Continuance of the War but for a very few Years, might have reduced the Power of France ſo low, as to have rendered them utterly unable to have made a Conqueſt of Spain; and thereby the heavy War which enſued, and which coſt this Nation ſo much Blood and Treaſure, would have been effectually prevented.

'Gentlemen have been pleaſed, Sir, to mention frequently to us the Prerogative of the Crown, and to talk of its being grown up to a great Height; but can any Gentleman ſay, that his preſent Majeſty, or the late King his Father, ever made the leaſt Attempt to the Prejudice of the People's Rights, or ever endeavour'd to extend any Branch of the Prerogative beyond thoſe Bounds which are preſcribed to it by Law? And I hope no Gentleman will ſay, that the Prerogative, as now limited and eſta-

Anno 7 Geo. II. 1733-4.

bliſhed, can be dangerous: for while our happy Conſtitution is preſerved, it is certain the monarchial Part of it muſt be endowed with ſome Powers and Prerogatives; it muſt have at leaſt thoſe which are neceſſary to ſupport itſelf againſt Faction, and to preſerve that Influence which it ought by Law to have in the Government of this Kingdom. And as for the Influence which, as has been ſuppoſed, the Crown may acquire over long Parliaments, it has already had a very proper Anſwer from both the Gentlemen who ſpoke firſt againſt this Motion; for it is very certain, that the long Parliament in King Charles the Second's Reign, which has been called the Penſionary Parliament, became towards the End ſo very little ſubject to the Influence of the Crown, that they did all they could to ſecure the Liberties of the People againſt the Schemes which were then forming by the Court, and became ſo ſtrenuous in their Endeavours this Way, that the King was at laſt obliged to diſſolve them. This ſhews, that the Length of a Parliament rather diminiſhes than increaſes the Influence of the Crown; and the Hiſtory of every Parliament ſince that Time confirms this Obſervation.

'We have been told, that we always ought to have a Dependance on thoſe we repreſent, and that in long Parliaments this Dependance may probably be thrown off; which could never be the Caſe if Parliaments were Annual. That we have all a Dependance upon the People for our Election, is what, Sir, I ſhall readily grant; but after we are choſen, and have taken our Seats in this Houſe, we have no longer any Dependance upon our Electors, at leaſt in ſo far as regards our Behaviour here: Their whole Power is then devolved upon us, and we are in every Queſtion that comes before this Houſe, to regard only the publick Good in general, and to determine according to our own Judgments: If we do not, if we are to depend upon our Repreſentatives, and to follow blindly the Inſtructions they ſend us, we cannot be ſaid to act freely, nor can ſuch Parliaments be called free Parliaments: Such a Dependance would be a moſt dangerous Dependance: It would, in my Opinion, be more dangerous and of worſe Conſequence than a Dependance upon the Crown; for in a Dependance on the Crown, can ſee no Danger as long as the Intereſt of the Crown is made the ſame with that of the People, which every Man muſt allow to be the Caſe at preſent; whereas the People of any County, City, or Borough are very liable to be miſs-led, and may often be induced to give Inſtructions directly contrary to the Intereſt of their Country.

'Bu-

Anno 7 Geo. II. 1733-4.

'Bribery and Corruption, Sir, are two hideous Words, and are often ſet in the moſt terrible Light; I have, 'tis true, as terrible an Idea of ſuch Practices as any Gentleman in this Houſe; but I cannot think we are in any preſent Danger from ſuch: Our Conſtitution is ſo happily formed, that it is almoſt impoſſible to overthrow it by ſuch Practices; for before ſuch a Thing can be done, the Generality of the People muſt be corrupted; nay, they muſt be ſo far corrupted as to be ready to ſell themſelves for a ſmall Price; for if they inſiſt upon a high one, there cannot be a Purchaſer. This is a Caſe which I hope never will happen, but if ever it ſhould, I cannot ſee how our Conſtitution could be more ſafe with a Triennial than with a Septennial Parliament; for I am perſuaded that if a Man will ſell his Vote either in Parliament, or at Elections, for 1000 or 100 Guineas, he will ſell it for half that Sum, when he finds he can get no more. Whatever is once brought to Market, is generally ſold for the Market-Price; and we find that the more frequently a Thing is ſold, the lower it falls in its Price, the more contemptible it becomes. People uſually ſuppoſe that Corruption is only of one ſort; but this, Sir, is a Miſtake, it appears in many Shapes; a Man may be bribed without giving him Money; and even Members of this Houſe may be bribed without getting any Place or Preferment from the Government. If any Gentleman, to pleaſe his Borough, and to ſecure his next Election, ſhould act contrary to his own Judgment, it is as downright Bribery as if he had got a Penſion, a Place or Preferment from the Court; and I look upon this as one of the very worſt ſorts of Corruption.

'Gentlemen have told us, that Septennial Parliaments are attended with many Inconveniences, but they have not been ſo good as to ſhew us any of them, at leaſt in ſo far as I have yet heard; we have had the Experience of ſuch Parliaments for above theſe eighteen Years, and yet I do not find that they have pretended to ſhew any one Inconvenience which has ariſen from them in all that Time; from whence I muſt preſume, that it is not in their Power; and I believe it cannot be ſhewn that ſo many good Laws have paſſed in any ſuch Number of Years, as have been paſſed ſince Septennial Parliaments took place: I am ſure it cannot be ſhewn, that any one Law has been paſſed by any of our Septennial Parliaments, that incroached upon the Rights of the People, or that was attended with an Inconvenience, or was looked on by the Generality of the People as a Grievance. If ever there were any ſuch, I muſt deſire that the Gentlemen of the other Side of the Queſtion would point them out to us.

'But,

Anno 7 Geo. II. 1733-4.

'But, Sir, I could ſhew many Inconveniences that would certainly enſue from Triennial or Annual Parliaments: The whole Nation would be kept in a continual Ferment: The Feuds and Diviſions which by every Election are raiſed among Neighbours in the Country, would be continually kept up: The Country Gentlemen would be entirely ruined by the Expence of frequent Elections, and an annual Attendance upon this Houſe with Multitudes of Witneſſes, about thoſe that might be conteſted; and a vaſt Encouragement would be given to Drunkenneſs and Idleneſs among all Ranks of Men. We know, when working People have been habituated but for a few Days to Drunkenneſs and Idleneſs, how hard it is to bring them back to their Labour and Induſtry; from whence we muſt conclude, that ſuch frequent Elections would be a great Prejudice to our Huſbandry, to our Manufactures, and to all ſorts of Improvements; for the Drinking and Feaſting about one Election would hardly be over, when that for the next would begin. All theſe, and many worſe, would be the certain Conſequences of Triennial, or Annual Elections; whereas when Elections return but once in ſeven Years, the Feuds and Diviſions among Neighbours, and the Ferment the Nation is put into, have time to ſubſide; the labouring People have time to cool and return to their Labour, and the Country Gentlemen may eaſily bear the Expence of Elections, becauſe they have ſix Years to recruit, and to lay in a Stock for that Purpoſe.

'An Honourable Gentleman ſpoke of Septennial Parliaments as neceſſary to ſupport falling Miniſters: How a Septennial can be more proper for this Purpoſe than a Triennial, I cannot really comprehend; but whatever may be in this, I am ſure it is not the Caſe at preſent: for I have been of late in as many Counties and Corporations as any Gentleman, I believe, in this Houſe; and notwithſtanding all the Arts that have been practiſed, and all the Induſtry that has been uſed to give the People a bad Impreſſion of the preſent Adminiſtration, I found the People in every Place I paſſed through, generally well inclined towards it; and the preſent Parliament, tho' a Septennial one, ſtands ſo firmly in the Eſteem and Affections of the People, that I dare ſay we ſhall ſee the greateſt Part of the Gentlemen now in this Houſe re-choſen.

'Upon the whole, Sir, as no Gentleman can, I think, ſhew me any Inconvenience attending Septennial Parliaments but what is imaginary, as a great many dangerous Inconveniences always have attended, and always muſt attend Triennial Parliaments; and as I am convinced that

the Nation in general is very far from desiring a Repeal of the Septennial Law, I am entirely against the Question.' Anno 7 Geo. II. 1733-4

Mr Walter Plumer spoke next:

SIR,

'I am not a little astonished at the Doctrine laid down by the Honourable and Learned Gentleman who spoke last: That after we are chosen, we are to give no Attention to our Constituents, that we are then to throw aside all Dependance upon them, is a Doctrine I never before heard in this House; and I am the more surprised to hear it come from that learned Gentleman, because some of our principal Law-Books tell us, that in ancient Times this House has often refused to agree to Propositions made by the Court; for this Reason only, that they could not agree to any such new Propositions, till they went home and consulted with their Constituents. For my own Part, Sir, I shall always give the greatest Attention to the Sentiments of those I represent; I shall always have a great Regard for their Interests, and shall never think there is any Danger in having a Dependance upon them. Mr. Walter Plumer.

'The learned Gentleman asked us, If the Prerogative of the Crown had been extended beyond its due Bounds by his late or his present Majesty? Sir, I do not say it has: It is a Question cannot properly be answered, nor have I heard any such Thing so much as insinuated in this Debate. But I wish we would take an Example from the Crown in one Thing: We may observe, that the Crown never gives a Place or Employment for Life, or for a long Term of Years, except such as cannot be otherwise disposed of; and the Reason is plain: Were these Places given for Life, the Grantee would then be out of the Power of the Crown, and consequently would not have such a Dependance on the Crown, as those Persons must have who enjoy their Places during Pleasure only. In this the Crown acts wisely; and I wish we would follow the Example: When I say We, I speak of the Gentlemen present not as Members of this House, but as a Part of the People of Great-Britain: It would certainly be the Height of Wisdom in the People to keep those they trust and employ in their Service as much in their Power as possible. If those the People chose to represent them in this House, were to continue in that Station only during the Pleasure of the People, the Representatives would, I believe, have a proper Regard for the Interests of the People, and would never think of throwing off all Dependance upon them. As this would, in my Opinion, be a wise Step in the People, therefore I must be for agreeing to every Thing that may tend this Way; for this

Anno 7 Geo. II. 1733-4.

this Reaſon I cannot but be for the preſent Motion; nay, if Annual Parliaments had been moved for, I ſhould have been for the Queſtion.

'Another Gentleman over the Way mentioned to us the preſent Situation of Europe; and aſked us, If we were to ſit ſtill, and take no Part? This, Sir, is a Queſtion that might be anſwered, if they would let us into the Secret ſo far, as to know what is the preſent Situation of Europe with reſpect to ourſelves; but this they do not ſeem inclined to do. However, without ſuch an Inſight, I think I may ſay, that we ought to mind our own Buſineſs, and take proper Care of the Intereſts of Great-Britain; but that we are not to enter headlong into every German Quarrel that happens beyond Seas. This may be a very proper Queſtion, and probably will come to be a Queſtion in the firſt Seſſion of the next Parliament: In which Caſe I hope thoſe who have it in their Power, will lay every Thing before this Houſe, that may be neceſſary for giving a proper Anſwer to ſuch an important Queſtion. But how the Members of next Parliament, by being choſen for ſeven Years, ſhould have in the very firſt Seſſion more Knowledge, more Wiſdom, or more Integrity in the determining of this Queſtion, than if they had been choſen only for three, is what, I muſt confeſs, I cannot comprehend.

'The learned Gentleman was ſo good as to tell us, that we had all, or moſt of us, by our Behaviour in this Parliament, eſtabliſhed our Characters ſo firmly among the People, that moſt of us will be choſen again: if ſo, it is to be hoped we will behave as well in the next, and then as many of us as are alive may expect to be choſen a third Time. And if we behave ill, I hope no Gentleman will ſay we ought to continue even for one Year, much leſs for ſeven, in the Station we are in, whether our Repreſentatives will or no. This, Sir, is as proper an Anſwer as can be made to the principal Argument urged againſt frequent Elections; which was, that they would diſtreſs his Majeſty's Government, and render the Meaſures of his Adminiſtration unſteady; for if the ſame Members be upon a new Election generally returned as long as they behave well, ſurely even an Annual Election could never diſtreſs his Majeſty's Government, nor render his Miniſters unſteady in the Meaſures they purſue, at leaſt as long as the Members behave well in Parliament. And I hope no King will, I am ſure his Majeſty never will, and I hope no Miniſter ever can depend upon the ill Behaviour of the Members of Parliament for the Support of his Government, or for the Support of the Meaſures he purſues: I ſay, I hope this Caſe never will happen; but leſt it ſhould, the beſt

beſt way to guard againſt it is to have frequent Elections; and therefore I am for the Queſtion.' Anno 7 Geo. II. 1733-4.

Then Sir William Lowther ſaid:

SIR,

'There is one Reaſon, which chiefly prevails with me to be againſt your Queſtion: It has been ſaid, that the principal Motive for introducing Septennial Parliaments now no longer exiſts; but this I can by no means agree with, becauſe I am ſure the Number of Papiſts has greatly increaſed even ſince the Septennial Law took place: And as a true Regard for our own Religion has in the ſame Time very much decreaſed, I am afraid the Popiſh Intereſt will daily gain more and more upon us; and the Tranſition from Popery to Jacobitiſm we know to be ſhort and certain. Sir William Lowther.

'Beſides, Sir, there has lately been publiſhed in our Weekly Papers, An Eſſay upon Parties: who is the Author of it I do not know, but I have read it; and I think it the moſt Jeſuitical Performance I ever ſaw: It could, in my Opinion, be wrote with no other View but to raiſe Diſcontents and Jealouſies, and to increaſe the Diſaffection to his Majeſty's Government; and therefore I cannot be for repealing a Law which greatly ſtrengthens that Government againſt all ſuch Attempts.'

To this Mr. Cholmondeley, Member for Cheſhire, replied:

SIR,

'I do not ſtand up, to enter into your Debate; but only to take Notice of what was ſaid by the Gentleman who ſpoke laſt. I do not know whether the Number of Papiſts be increaſed ſince the Time he mentions or not; but I would gladly know from him, which Side in the Elections the Papiſts favour moſt in that Part of the Country where he lives? For I can affirm, that in all the Parts of England which I know, they generally make uſe of all their Intereſt in favour of thoſe Candidates who are recommended by the Miniſters: What may be their Reaſon for ſuch an odd ſort of Conduct, I cannot pretend to determine; for ſurely they do not imagine that the only Game they have to play againſt his Majeſty's Government is to ſupport his Miniſters.' Mr. Cholmondeley.

Mr. George Heathcote hereupon added:

SIR,

'I was very much inclined, to give my Vote for the Queſtion when it was firſt moved; but I am now more firmly of that Opinion, after what I have heard from the two Honourable Gentlemen who ſpoke laſt: for if Popery Mr. George Heathcote.

Anno 7 Geo. II. 1733-4.

has gained ſo great Ground in this Nation, ſince the paſſing of the Septennial Law; and if the Papiſts be in general ſuch Friends to our Miniſters, I do not know but that in next Parliament many Papiſts may have Seats in this Houſe. And as ſome of our Miniſters have been of late very changeable in their Potiticks, I do not know but they may take it in their Heads to change their Religion too: therefore, for fear of our having a Popiſh Parliament, and ſome Popiſh Miniſters, I am for repealing the Septennial Law, in order to prevent their having Time to do a great deal of Miſchief.'

Then Sir John Hynde Cotton ſaid:

SIR,

Sir John Hynde Cotton.

'As to all the Parts of England I know, I can affirm the Truth of what my worthy Friend by me has ſaid. The Papiſts are in general making uſe of all their Intereſt in favour of thoſe Candidates who are recommended by the Miniſters; and an Honourable Gentleman on the Floor, who I believe has no ſmall Share in the preſent Adminiſtration, knows that one of that Religion, who is a Gentleman of one of the beſt and moſt ancient Families in the County of Norfolk, and a Gentleman of one of the beſt Eſtates in it, is now riding about the Country, ſolliciting Votes for his Friends who are Candidates for the County, or for any City or Borough within the County: ſo that if there has been of late an Increaſe of Popery, it cannot be ſaid that the Intereſt of the Miniſters is thereby weakened; but as to his Majeſty's Government, I dare ſay that it cannot be much ſtrengthened by the Addition of ſuch Friends.

'An honourable and learned Gentleman over the Way was pleaſed to aſk us, Sir, if his late or preſent Majeſty had ever made any Attempt to the Prejudice of the Rights of the People, or had endeavoured to extend any Branch of the Prerogative beyond its legal Bounds? To this Queſtion, Sir, I ſhall not anſwer one Word, becauſe I know the Gentleman's Office; but I ſhall anſwer another Queſtion aſked by the ſame Gentleman: He aſked us, if I remember right, Whether any Law was ever paſſed by a Septennial Parliament that incroached upon the Liberties of the People, or that was attended with an Inconvenience, or was looked on by the Generality of the People as a Grievance? As to the firſt Part of this Queſtion, I muſt really, Sir, look upon the Septennial Law itſelf as ſome ſort of Incroachment upon the Rights of the People; and that Law, I think, was paſſed by a Parliament which made itſelf Septennial. But farther, Sir, were not the Laws of Treaſon, as to Trials, altered by

by a Septennial Parliament, or at leaſt one which made itſelf ſo? That Law which had remained unaltered in all the Conteſts, and the long Wars that happened between the Houſes of York and Lancaſter, was altered upon a trifling Inſurrection in ſome of the Northern Parts of this Kingdom: Formerly every Man was to be tried by a Jury of his honeſt Neighbours, within the County where the Crimes alledged againſt him were ſaid to have been committed; but a Septennial Parliament ordered him to be carried away, and tried in any County, where the Crown, or rather the Miniſter, could find a Jury proper for their Purpoſe; and where the Priſoner might not perhaps be able to bring any Witneſſes in his own Juſtification, it might at leaſt have been impoſſible for him to bring any without a great Expence. And yet farther, Sir, was not the Riot Act paſſed by a Septennial Parliament; and is this no Incroachment upon the Rights of the People? Is it no Grievance that a little dirty Juſtice of the Peace, the meaneſt and vileſt Tool a Miniſter can make uſe of, a Tool who, perhaps, ſubſiſts by his being in the Commiſſion, and who may be turned out of that Subſiſtence whenever the Miniſter pleaſes; Is this, I ſay, no Grievance that ſuch a Tool ſhould have it in his Power, by reading a Proclamation, to put perhaps 20 or 30 of the beſt Subjects in England to immediate Death, without any Trial or Form of Law? This Law, Sir, and ſeveral others I could name, have been paſſed by Septennial Parliaments; to which, becauſe they ſtand yet unrepealed, I ſhall not give the Names I think they deſerve.

Anno 7 Geo. II. 1733-4.

'But, Sir, to aſk whether any Laws have been paſſed by Septennial Parliaments, which have been attended with Inconveniences, or have been complained of as a Grievance, is a Queſtion I am ſurpriſed to hear come from a Gentleman learned in the Laws. Was not the fatal South-ſea Scheme, in the Year 1720, eſtabliſhed by an Act of a Septennial Parliament, and can any Man aſk, whether that Law was attended with any Inconvenience? It was, Sir, the moſt ſcandalous Act that ever was paſſed by any Parliament: if Triennial Parliaments had then been in Being, I am perſuaded it would never have paſſed; or if it had, I am ſure, the chief Promoters of it would have ſuffered a very different Fate from what they did. And, did not the ſame Parliament paſs ſome Clauſes in an Act for hindering the ſpreading of the Plague, that were look'd upon by the Generality of the People as ſo great a Grievance, and were ſo loudly complained of by all Ranks of People in the Nation, that it was thought proper to repeal them in the very next Seſſion of Parliament?

Anno 7 Geo. II. 1733-4.

'To the glorious Catalogue I have mentioned of Laws paſſed by Septennial Parliaments, we might have added the late Exciſe Bill, if it had paſſed into a Law; but thank God, the Septennial Parliament was near expiring before that famous Bill was introduced. To this glorious Catalogue I could add, Sir, not a few others; but I will ſtop here, till I have heard the Laws I have mentioned juſtified by thoſe who ſeem to be ſo much in love with Septennial Parliaments; and if they can juſtify all that has been done by ſuch Parliaments, I now promiſe moſt ſolemnly to be of their Opinion; but till then I hope they will excuſe me, in being for the Repeal of a Law, which, in my Opinion, has never done any good, which has produced a great deal of Miſchief; and which, I am much afraid, will quite overturn our Conſtitution, if it continues for any Time unrepealed.'

Sir John Barnard ſpoke next:

Sir John Barnard.

SIR,

'I am a good deal ſurpriſed to find that none of thoſe Gentlemen who uſually have a great ſhare in our Debates, ſeem inclined to take any ſhare in this. I hope they will allow it to be a Queſtion of ſome Conſequence to their Country; and if it ſhould be carried in the Affirmative, ſome of them may perhaps find it a Queſtion of ſome Conſequence to themſelves. I will venture to ſay, that I have not heard a Queſtion better ſupported on one ſide, and leſs ſaid againſt it on the other, by the Gentlemen who have already ſpoken ſince I ſat in Parliament; and I now ſtand up, not that I think any thing needful to be added to what has been ſaid in ſupport of it, but that I cannot think of letting a Queſtion go, in the Succeſs of which I think the Happineſs of my Country ſo deeply concerned, without my joining with other Gentlemen in ſhewing all the Regard for it that lies in my Power.

'An honourable and learned Gentleman has indeed advanced a Doctrine which I think altogether new: That we are to have no further Dependance on our Electors after we have taken our Seats in this Houſe; nay, that a Dependance upon them would be more dangerous than a Dependance on the Crown. This, Sir, is really, in my Opinion, ſomething very new; tho' that Gentleman may perhaps like the one better than the other, yet I ſhall always look upon a Dependance on the People of England, or even upon thoſe I repreſent, to be leſs dangerous and more honourable, than a Dependance on the Crown; and I value my ſelf more on the Honour I have had of ſitting here for two Parliaments, as one of the Repreſentatives of

the People of England, and by the free and uncorrupted Choice of thoſe I repreſent, than I ſhould do on the greateſt Honours the Crown can beſtow. Indeed, if I had obtained my Seat here by Bribery, or by the illegal and corrupt Influence of any great Miniſter, I ſhould look upon it in a very different light; I ſhould look upon it as one of the moſt diſgraceful Stations I could be in. Anno 7 Geo. II. 1733-4.

'It has been affirmed by ſeveral Gentlemen, who have ſpoken on the other ſide of the Queſtion, that the longer Parliaments continued, the leſs Influence the Crown had upon them; and for a Proof of this, they have inſtanced the long Parliament in King Charles the Second's Reign. The ſame Gentlemen have likewiſe aſſerted, that Triennial Parliaments would diſtreſs his Majeſty's Government: How theſe two Aſſertions are compatible, I leave to the Gentlemen themſelves to explain; for to me it appears impoſſible that both can be true: becauſe if the Crown has always the leſs Influence in a Parliament the longer it continues, ſurely the ſhortening the Time of its Duration cannot diſtreſs any King's Government. But as to the long Parliament in King Charles's Time, tho' they did not towards the End ſhew the ſame ſervile Compliance that they had done for many Years before; yet it is plain, that the Crown thought that Parliament fitter for the Purpoſes of the Court at that Time, than they could expect any new Parliament choſen by the People to be; otherwiſe, as the King had it in his Power, he would certainly have diſſolved them much ſooner: And if that long Parliament really deſerved the Name uſually given to it, we muſt conclude, that their Non-compliance at laſt was not owing to their Virtue, or a Want of Inclination to receive, but to a Want of Power in the Crown to give. The People were not then accuſtomed to bear ſuch heavy Burdens, as they do at preſent; the Revenues of the Crown were not ſo large, nor the Poſts and Places at the Diſpoſal of the Crown ſo numerous; there was not ſuch a numerous ſtanding Army to ſupport the Parliament, in caſe they had gone on in the ſame ſervile Method: And as the Complaints of the People grew loud and clamorous, as there was little to be got, and a great deal to be apprehended, by the Continuance of a ſervile Compliance, it is very probable that theſe were the true Reaſons of that Parliament's becoming at laſt ſo reſtive: And if the Nation was now in the ſame State it was at that Time, I ſhould not be half ſo much afraid of Septennial Parliaments as I think I have now good Reaſon to be.

'The Animoſities, Diſputes, and Diviſions about Elections, have been ſet in the moſt dreadful Light, and have

Anno 7 Geo. II. 1733-4.

have been repreſented as ſo great an Inconvenience, that we ought to run the Riſk of having our Conſtitution overturned, rather than ſubmit to it. But, Sir, can it be imagined that there would be the ſame Contention for a Seat in Parliament, which was to continue but for one Year, or even for three, that there is for one which is to continue for ſeven: The Example of the City of London plainly ſhews us the contrary. As the Common-Councilmen, and a great many other Officers in the City are choſen annually, I have had Occaſion to be often preſent at theſe annual Elections, and never could find that they were attended with any great Heats and Animoſities, or with any Inconvenience; for after the Election is over, the contending Parties go home, and live in the ſame Friendſhip they did before: And I am convinced the Caſe would be the very ſame, if annual Elections for Members of this Houſe were reſtored. The ſame Man might perhaps be continued and re-choſen every Year for many Years together, probably without any Diſpute or Oppoſition; but his being liable every Year to be turned out, would be a continual Check upon his Behaviour, and would make him ſtudy the Intereſts of the People, inſtead of purſuing only ſome private and ſelfiſh Views of his own.

'Even as Elections ſtand at preſent, there would be no ſuch Contentions, nor any ſuch Heats and Animoſities as we hear of, if they were entirely left to Gentlemen who have a natural Intereſt in the Place: in ſuch Caſe, if a Candidate found himſelf defeated by fair Means only, and merely by the ſuperior Intereſt of his Antagoniſt, it would not raiſe his Indignation, it would occaſion no Heats or Animoſities, he would wait with Patience for a new Opportunity, and in the mean time would endeavour to recommend himſelf to his Country by Acts of Hoſpitality and Benevolence. It is Miniſters of State intermeddling in Elections; it is Election-Brokers, and ſuch Dealers in Corruption, that occaſion all the Heats and Animoſities we have: for when a Gentleman, of a great natural Intereſt, ſees his Electors obliged by Power, or bribed by Money, to vote againſt him, perhaps in favour of an utter Stranger, it cannot but raiſe his Indignation: it may indeed juſtly raiſe his utmoſt Fury and Revenge.

'It is certain, Sir, that if the People were entirely left to themſelves, they would, without much Contention, always chuſe thoſe Gentlemen, who, by having large Properties of their own, might be reaſonably ſuppoſed to be ſuch as would take the beſt Care of the Properties of their Fellow-Subjects: But if the People ſhould ever begin to ſee their Repreſentatives making their Seats in Parliament

Places of Profit, and bartering their Votes and their Behaviour in Parliament for Posts, Places and Pensions, the People will soon follow the Example of their Representatives, and will insist upon sharing with them in the Profits. Thus, by degrees, the Minds of the People will be debauched; they will be brought to think, that the selling their Votes at Elections is no Crime, the Representatives who buy their Seats must sell their Votes; and at last, all Regard for the publick Good will be generally laid aside by all sorts of Men. The only effectual Method, Sir, of preventing this fatal Effect, is to restore annual Elections; for then it would be impossible, even for the Treasury itself (if ever the publick Money should come to be so misapplied) to issue yearly, Sums of Money sufficient to get the better of the natural Interest, which Country Gentlemen always have in the Places where they and their Families have perhaps for many Generations resided. The Consequence of which will be, that none but Country Gentlemen, and those who have a natural Interest in the Place, will ever appear as Candidates; and thus neither the Morals of the People will be debauched, nor their Properties plundered, nor their Liberties destroyed by those Election-Brokers and Ministerial Agents, or their Candidates, who never can be employed or set up but for such base Purposes.

'As for our Credit abroad, which, it is pretended, Septennial Parliaments very much contribute to, I think it is evident, that it has been sinking ever since the Septennial Law took place; which confirms what was justly observed by an honourable Gentleman, that the Credit of the Nation among Foreigners does not depend upon the Length or Shortness of our Parliaments, but upon that Correspondence and Confidence which ought always to be kept up between the King and his People. I will not say that this Decay of our Credit abroad has been altogether owing to the Septennial Law; but I dare say, if our Parliaments had not been Septennial, they would probably, before now, have enquired into the Conduct of those who have been the Causes of this Decay; and whatever Reasons the Decay of our Credit among Foreigners may have been owing to, it is now come to so low an Ebb, that we really seem to have almost none to lose. This, I am sorry to say it, seems to be our Case at present; and as I think nothing can so effectually restore our Credit abroad, as the restoring our Constitution at home, I shall therefore give my Vote for the Question.'

Then

Anno 7 Geo. II. 1733-4

Then Sir William Yonge ſtood up, and ſpoke as follows:

Sir William Yonge.

SIR,

'I aſſure you, I did not ſit ſtill becauſe I thought much had been ſaid in this Debate upon one Side of the Queſtion, and nothing upon the other; but becauſe after what had been offered by my worthy Friend under the Gallery, who ſpoke early in the Debate, and the honourable and learned Gentleman who ſpoke ſome time ago againſt the Queſtion, I thought it might be looked on as a Vanity in me to pretend to add any Thing to what had been ſaid: Indeed I am ſtill of the ſame Opinion, and ſhould have continued in my Reſolution of not giving you any Trouble this Day, had not the Honourable Gentleman over the Way thrown out what I take to be a very uncandid Reflection upon my Honourable and Learned Friend.

'My learned Friend happened to make an Obſervation, which I ſtill think a very juſt one; he ſaid, that after we are returned and have taken our Seats in this Houſe, we ought not any longer to have a Dependance upon thoſe we repreſent. This the Honourable Gentleman laid hold of, he not only called it a new and a very extraordinary Doctrine; but he dropt an Expreſſion ſuch as I think ought not to be made uſe of in this Houſe: As to the Obſervation made by my learned Friend, he certainly meant, and I believe almoſt every Gentleman underſtood him, that after we have taken our Seats in this Houſe we ought, every one of us, to look upon ourſelves as one of the Repreſentatives of the whole Body of the Commons of England, and ought not to have any particular Byaſs for the County, City or Borough we repreſent. This, Sir, is ſo far from being a Doctrine very extraordinary, or altogether new, that I wiſh every Gentleman in this Houſe would make it a ſtanding Rule for his Conduct; for I cannot help obſerving, that there are ſome Gentlemen in the Houſe who on many Occaſions confine their Thoughts too much to the particular County, City or Borough they repreſent; but ſurely they muſt be ſenſible, that many Things may happen in Parliament which may be for the Intereſt of the Nation in general, tho' they may not perhaps quadrate ſo exactly with the particular Intereſt of London, Briſtol, Liverpool, or other like City; and in ſuch a Caſe the Gentlemen muſt ſurely grant, that as Members of this Houſe, they ought to drop not only their Dependance upon, but even their Concern for the particular City they repreſent, in order

order to concur with the reſt of the Members of this Houſe, in what they judge to be for the general Intereſt of the Nation. Anno 7 Geo. II. 1733-4.

'This, Sir, I thought myſelf obliged to ſay in Vindication of my learned Friend; but as to the Queſtion itſelf, I ſhall give you but very little Trouble: for tho' I muſt do the Gentlemen who introduced this Motion the Juſtice to own, that they did it with as much Candour, and in as pretty a Manner, as I ever heard any Queſtion introduced in this Houſe, yet all the Arguments they made uſe of were ſo fully anſwered, and the Objections againſt their Motion ſtated in ſo clear a Light, by the two worthy Gentlemen who ſpoke firſt againſt their Motion, that I cannot agree to it: and indeed, as I believe we owe the Happineſs of having the preſent Royal Family upon the Throne, and the Liberty of debating any Queſtion in this Houſe, chiefly to the Septennial Law, I ſhall never agree to the Repeal of that Law, without ſeeing much ſtronger Reaſons for it than any I have hitherto heard offered.

'One of the great Inconveniences ſaid to attend Septennial Parliaments is, that they heighten and increaſe thoſe Heats and Animoſities which are uſually raiſed among the People about the Time of Elections; but this I cannot agree to, becauſe it is well known that thoſe Heats and Animoſities roſe to as great a Height, nay to a much greater Height, during the Continuance of Triennial Parliaments, than they ever did ſince that Time; from whence we may obſerve, that the Violence of thoſe Heats and Animoſities does not depend upon the quick or the ſlow Return of Elections, but upon the Temper of the People at the Time. In every Nation there ariſes ſometimes a general Ferment among the People, ſometimes without any viſible Cauſe, and often from Cauſes that are in themſelves unjuſt: In this Nation, if an Election for a new Parliament ſhould come on when the Nation is in any ſuch Ferment, the Heats and Animoſities at that Time would certainly become extremely violent, nay ſo violent, as to endanger the Peace of the Kingdom; and if we had Annual or even Triennial Parliaments, no ſuch Ferment could ever happen but what would probably be attended with an Election, by which the Nation might be involved in ſuch frequent Diſorders and Confuſions, as might at laſt make us a Prey for ſome foreign Enemy; which, in my Opinion, is a Danger much more to be apprehended, than any Danger our Conſtitution can be in from having our Parliaments Septennial.

Anno 7 Geo. II. 1733-4.

'Another Inconvenience is, that Septennial Parliaments increaſe and give Encouragements to Bribery and Corruption. That there is Bribery and Corruption, that there always has been Bribery and Corruption, is a Fact I ſhall not diſpute: But, Sir, that the Increaſe or Decreaſe of that Vice depends upon the frequent or the rare Return of Elections, is what I cannot agree to; for I am convinced it will always depend upon the Virtue of the People in general, and the Humour they happen to be in at the Time. I wiſh Bribery and Corruption of all Kinds could be prevented; but the Evil I am afraid is inevitable; for notwithſtanding the many expreſs Laws againſt it, notwithſtanding the ſevere Law made but a little while ago for preventing it, yet we find that Methods have been contrived for evading all thoſe Laws, either by giving great Entertainments and great plenty of Victuals, or by ſome more ſecret and corrupt Practices, ſo that the only Way to prevent the Growth of this Evil, is to preſerve the Virtue of the People; and I believe the beſt Way to preſerve the Virtue of the People, is to give them as few Opportunities as poſſible for being vicious: from whence I muſt conclude, that for obviating this Inconvenience, Septennial Parliaments are better than Triennial.

'If ſo many and ſo great Inconveniences have been felt all over the Nation from Septennial Parliaments, if ſo great Complaints have been made, it is very ſtrange, Sir, that no Attempt has been made, ever ſince the paſſing of that Law, for the Repeal of it; but the Time now choſen for making that Attempt, ſhews plainly with what View it is made: It is now the laſt Seſſion of a Parliament, a new Election muſt ſoon come on, and as this Motion has an Appearance of Popularity among the meaner ſort of Electors, it may be of Service to ſome Gentlemen at the next Elections: And as to the Contentions about theſe Elections beginning ſo early, I do not know by whom they were begun, but I believe they have been ſet on foot on purpoſe to furniſh Gentlemen with Arguments in this Day's Debate; and an Honourable Gentleman has accordingly taken hold of it, and has made uſe of thoſe Contentions ſo early begun, as an Argument againſt Septennial Parliaments.

'Another Honourable Gentleman has given us a glorious Catalogue, as he was pleaſed to call it, of Laws paſſed by Septennial Parliaments; but I think he ought in a particular Manner to have guarded againſt putting the Riot Act into that Catalogue, for he knows it was founded on the ſame Motive with the Septennial. It was abſolutely neceſſary for the Safety of the Government, and had it not been

been for ſome Executions in Fleet-ſtreet, in conſequence of that Act, I am perſuaded it would not have been poſſible to have preſerved the Peace of the Kingdom at that Time: and I muſt ſay, that it is ſomewhat very ſtrange to hear Gentlemen arguing againſt Contentions and Riots at Elections, and at the ſame Time complaining of that Law which was made for the preventing of Riots upon any Occaſion. As to the Law for regulating Trials in Caſes of Treaſon, there was never a more reaſonable Law paſſed in Parliament: Is it not at all Times abſolutely inconſiſtent with the Safety of the Government; nay, is it not in itſelf ridiculous, that Rebels and Traitors ſhould be tried by a Jury of their own Friends and Relations, embarked in the ſame wicked Deſigns, and as much diſaffected to the Government as the Priſoners at the Bar? Can it be expected that ſuch a Jury will ever find the Priſoners guilty? And therefore when whole Counties had rebelled, what could have been more reaſonable than the ſending the Rebels of thoſe Counties to be tried in other Counties, where an honeſt and a diſintereſted Jury might be found; and as that Law was confined to the Rebels then in Cuſtody, or ſuch as ſhould be taken within a ſhort Time after, I am ſurpriſed to hear it found fault with.

Anno 7 Geo. II. 1733-4.

'We have been told, Sir, that the Nation in general deſires the Repeal of the Septennial Law, and that Inſtructions have been ſent up to ſeveral Members for that purpoſe. As to the Deſires of the Nation in general, it is a Fact not eaſy to be determined; I do not know but the Mob, I mean ſuch as have no Buſineſs with Elections, may generally deſire the Repeal of this Law, becauſe they would then have an Opportunity of getting drunk, committing Riots, and living idly, much oftner than they have at preſent; but as to all thoſe who have any Right to vote at Elections, I am convinced the Generality of them deſire no ſuch Thing. And as for thoſe Inſtructions that may have been ſent up to Members, no Man is ignorant how they are uſually obtained: I ſaw a Copy of one of them lately in one of our Evening News-papers, and by the Stile of it I may leave any Gentleman to judge, what ſort of Perſons they were who ſent it, or rather obtained its being ſent. As the Memory of King William will always, they know, be reverenced in England, by all thoſe who are attached to the true Intereſt of their Country, theſe Inſtructions take particular Notice, that the Triennial Law was paſſed in the Reign of our great Deliverer, King William, of glorious and immortal Memory: But does not every Man, who has read the Hiſtory of his Reign, know, that that Law was promoted by thoſe who were perhaps Friends to the Revo-

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lution, but Enemies to the then Adminiſtration, co-operating with thoſe who were Enemies to both?

'In ſhort, Sir, the Septennial Law, as well as the Riot Act, was paſſed for the Safety and Eſtabliſhment of the preſent Government; and, as I think in my Conſcience, the Repeal of either of them would endanger the Government, I am therefore heartily againſt your Queſtion.'

To this Sir William Wyndham replied:

SIR,

Sir William Wyndham.

'The Honourable Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, in vindicating, as he called it, his learned Friend, threw out a very unfair Reflection upon the Conduct of a worthy Gentleman under the Gallery, whoſe Behaviour in Parliament I have been a Witneſs of, and I can ſay without Flattery, it has been as even and as honourable as the Behaviour of any Gentleman in this Houſe; and if the Honourable Gentleman thinks otherwiſe, I dare ſay he is ſingle in his Opinion: He is, I believe, the only Man, either in the Houſe or out of it, who thinks ſo; I wiſh the Behaviour of every other Gentleman, I will not ſay in this, but in former Parliaments, had been as unexceptionable; for if it had, I am very ſure we ſhould have had no Occaſion for this Day's Debate.

'The Obſervation made by the Learned Gentleman, which the Honourable Gentleman took up ſo much Time to explain, was without Exception; it was juſt, it was plain, and therefore wanted neither an Explanation nor a Vindication: but, Sir, what the worthy Gentleman under the Gallery, and others as well as he, took Notice of, was an Expreſſion that fell from the learned Gentleman, I dare ſay, without Deſign: He ſaid that we were to have no Dependance upon our Conſtituents; he went further, he ſaid it was a dangerous Dependance; nay, he went further ſtill, and ſaid it was more dangerous than a Dependance on the Crown: This my worthy Friend took notice of, and with his uſual Modeſty, called it a new Doctrine. It is, Sir, not only a new Doctrine, but it is the moſt monſtrous, the moſt ſlaviſh Doctrine was ever heard, and ſuch a Doctrine as I hope no Man will ever dare to ſupport within theſe Walls. I am perſuaded, Sir, the learned Gentleman did not mean what the Words he happened to make uſe of may ſeem to import; for tho' the People of a County, City or Borough may be miſled, and may be induced to give Inſtructions which are contrary to the true Intereſt of their Country, yet I hope he will allow, that in Times paſt the Crown has been oftner miſled; and conſequently we muſt conclude, that

that it is more apt to be miſled in Time to come, than we can ſuppoſe the People to be. Anno 7 Geo. II. 1733-4.

'As to the Conteſts about the next Election, Sir, that they were begun a long while ago, is a certain Fact; but who the Beginners were, may not be ſo certain, or at leaſt not ſo generally known: and the Honourable Gentleman who ſpoke laſt ſeemed to be ignorant, or indeed rather to miſtake who were the Beginners of them; but if he pleaſes to look about him, he may ſee one not far diſtant from him, who, by his Agents, was the firſt and the principal Beginner of them in moſt Parts of the Kingdom. To ſee them begin ſo ſoon, is no new Thing, Sir; it is a ſtale miniſterial Artifice; it has been practiſed ever ſince Septennial Parliaments took place, and will be practiſed as long as they continue: Miniſters of State know well how unequal the Contention is between a Country Gentleman, who has nothing but his own Eſtate (greatly exhauſted by the many Taxes he pays) to depend on, and Miniſterial Election-mongers, ſupplied by Gentlemen in Office, who have for ſeven Years been heaping up Money for that purpoſe, or perhaps ſupplied even by the publick Treaſure of the Nation; and the ſooner this Contention begins, the greater Diſadvantage the Country Gentlemen labour under, the more Time thoſe Tools of Corruption have to practiſe upon the Electors, and to diſcover where that Money may be placed to the beſt Advantage, which is iſſued for corrupting the People, and overturning the Conſtitution: From hence it is obvious who have been, and who will always be the firſt Beginners of ſuch Contentions.

'The learned Gentleman, as well as ſome others, particularly an Honourable Gentleman under the Gallery, who ſpoke early in the Debate, and who indeed ſaid as much, and in as handſome a Manner as can, in my Opinion, be ſaid againſt the Queſtion, has told us, that our Conſtitution has been often varied; and that there was no Time when it was ſuch as we ought, or would deſire, to return to. Sir, it is not to be doubted but our Conſtitution has often varied, and perhaps there is no Time when it was without a Fault; but I will affirm, that there is no Time in which we may not find ſome good Things in our Conſtitution: There are now, there have been in every Century ſome good Laws exiſting: Let us preſerve thoſe that are good; if any of them have been aboliſhed, let them be reſtored, and if any of the Laws now in Being are found to be attended with Inconveniences, let them be repealed. This is what is now deſired, this is what the People have reaſon to expect from Parliament; there is nothing now deſired but what the People have a Right to; they have now, they always

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always had a Right to frequent new Parliaments; and this Right was eſtabliſhed and confirmed even by the Claim of Rights, notwithſtanding what the learned Gentleman has ſaid to the contrary. At the Time of the Revolution, nay at the preſent Time, at all Times, the word Parliament, in the common Way of Speaking, comprehends all the Seſſions held from one Election to another: That this is the common Meaning of the Word, I appeal to every Gentleman in this Houſe; and for this Reaſon thoſe Patriots, who drew up our Claim of Rights, could not imagine that it was neceſſary to put in the word New: They could not ſo much as dream that the two Words, Frequent Parliaments, would afterwards be interpreted to mean, Frequent Seſſions of Parliament; but the Lawyers, who are accuſtomed to confound the Senſe of the plaineſt Words, immediately found out, that a Seſſion of Parliament was a Parliament, and that therefore the words Frequent Parliaments, meant only Frequent Seſſions. This Quirk the Lawyers found out immediately after the Revolution; this Quirk the Courtiers at that Time caught hold of; and this ſet the People anew upon the Vindication of their Rights, which they obtained by the Triennial Bill: By that Bill the Right of the People to frequent new Parliaments, was eſtabliſhed in ſuch clear Terms as not to be miſunderſtood; and God forgive them who conſented to the giving it up.

'I am extremely ſurpriſed, Sir, to hear it ſaid, that the Triennial Bill was introduced by the Enemies to the Revolution. I will not ſay, that it was introduced by the Courtiers at that Time; we ſeldom ſee ſuch Bills introduced by ſuch Gentlemen: but, does not every know, that it was my Lord Somers who was the chief Promoter of that Bill, and that moſt of thoſe who ſupported him in it, were Gentlemen who had been deeply concerned in bringing about the Revolution? 'Tis true, the Courtiers oppoſed it, and even King William himſelf, by the Advice of ſome wicked Miniſters, refuſed to paſs it the firſt Time it was offered; but when it came back again to him, he was better adviſed; and if he had not paſſed it, he had not done what he ought to do, he had not done all he came to do; nor that which when he came he promiſed to do, which was to reſtore the People to the full Enjoyment of all their Rights and Privileges.

'To pretend, Sir, that the Triennial Bill was introduced with a View of diſtreſſing King William's Government, is really caſting a Reflection upon his Government: For to tell us, that the People's claiming thoſe Rights, which he came to eſtabliſh, was a diſtreſſing of his Government, is to tell us, that his Government was contrary to the Rights

of

of the People, which is, in my Opinion, a very high Reflection, and ſuch a one as the Gentlemen, who tell us ſo, would not patiently hear caſt upon that Reign by others. The other Pretence, that Triennial Parliaments were the Cauſe of his putting an End to the War, or of that Treaty which was ſo much complained of, is, I am ſure, as groundleſs; for the ſecond War was begun and carried on with great Succeſs, under the Influence of Triennial Parliaments, till the Ballance of Power was fully reſtored, and ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, that France has never ſince endeavoured to make the leaſt Incroachment upon any of her Neighbours: What ſome late Meaſures may encourage her to do hereafter, I ſhall not pretend to determine; but this Nation has ever ſince that Time enjoyed what I think I may call a profound Tranquillity, which, if the Triennial Law had remained in force, we would, I believe, have made a much better uſe of, than we now ſeem to have done.

'The learned Gentleman has told us, That the Septennial Law is a proper Medium between the unlimited Power of the Crown, and the limiting that Power too much; but, Sir, before he had fixed upon this as a Medium, he ſhould firſt have diſcovered to us the two Extremes. I will readily allow, that an unlimited Power in the Crown, with reſpect to the continuing of Parliaments, is one Extreme; but the other I cannot really find out: for I am very far from thinking, that the Power of the Crown was too much limited by the Triennial Law, or that the Happineſs of the Nation was any way injured by it, or can ever be injured by frequent Elections. As to the Power of the Crown, it is very certain, that as long as the Adminiſtration of publick Affairs is agreeable to the Generality of the People, were they to chuſe a new Parliament every Year, they would chuſe ſuch Repreſentatives as would moſt heartily concur in every thing with ſuch an Adminiſtration; ſo that even an Annual Parliament could not be any Limitation of the juſt Power of the Crown; and as to the Happineſs of the Nation, it is certain, that Gentlemen will always contend with more Heat and Animoſity about being Members of a long Parliament, than about being Members of a ſhort one: and therefore the Elections for a Septennial Parliament muſt always diſturb the Peace, and injure the Happineſs of the Nation, more than the Elections for an Annual or Triennial Parliament. Of this the Elections in the City of London, mentioned by my worthy Friend, are an evident Demonſtration.

'As to the Elections coming on when the Nation is in a Ferment, it is ſo far from being an Objection to frequent Elections, that it is, in my Opinion, Sir, a ſtrong Argument

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ment in favour of them; becauſe it is one of the chief Supports of the Freedom of the Nation. It is plain, that the People ſeldom or ever were in a Ferment, but when Incroachments were made upon their Rights and Privileges; and when any ſuch are made, it is very proper, nay it is even neceſſary, that the People ſhould be allowed to proceed to a new Election, in order that they may chuſe ſuch Repreſentatives as will do them Juſtice, by puniſhing thoſe who have been making Incroachments upon them; otherwiſe one of theſe two Effects may very probably enſue: Either the Ferment will break out into an open Inſurrection, or the Incroachment that has been made, may happen to be forgot before a new Election comes on; and then the Invaders of the People's Rights will have a much better Lay for getting ſuch a new Parliament choſen, as will not only free them from all Puniſhment, but will confirm the Incroachments that have been made, and encourage the making of new. Thus the Rights of the People may be nibbled and curtailed by Piece-meal, and ambitious Criminals may at laſt get themſelves ſo firmly ſeated, that it will be out of the Power of the People to ſtop their Career, or to avoid the Chains which they are preparing.

'Now, Sir, to return to the Power of the Crown, which the learned Gentleman has told us was too much limited by the Triennial Law; I think I have made it plain that the juſt Power of the Crown cannot poſſibly be limited by frequent Elections, and conſequently could not be too much limited by the Triennial Law; but by long Parliaments the Crown may be enabled to aſſume, and to make uſe of an unjuſt Power. By our Conſtitution the only legal Method we have of vindicating our Rights and Privileges againſt the Incroachments of ambitious Miniſters is by Parliament; the only Way we have of rectifying a weak or wicked Adminiſtration, is by Parliament; the only effectual Way we have of bringing high and powerful Criminals to condign Puniſhment, is by Parliament. But whatever it ſhould come to be in the Power of the Adminiſtration to have a Majority of this Houſe depending upon the Crown, or to get a Majority of ſuch Men returned, as the Repreſentatives of the People, the Parliament will then ſtand us in no ſtead: It can anſwer none of theſe great Purpoſes; the whole Nation may be convinced of the Weakneſs or the Wickedneſs of thoſe in the Adminiſtration; and yet it may be out of the Nation's Power, in a legal Way, to get the Fools turned out, or the Knaves hanged.

'This Misfortune, Sir, can be brought upon us by nothing but by Bribery and Corruption; and therefore the

is nothing we ought to guard more watchfully againſt. And an honourable Gentleman, who ſpoke ſome time ago, upon the ſame ſide with me, has ſo clearly demonſtrated, that the Elections for a Septennial Parliament are more liable to be influenced by Corruption, than thoſe for a Triennial, that I am ſurpriſed his Argument ſhould be miſtaken, or not comprenended; but it ſeems the moſt certain Maxims, the plaineſt Truths, are now to be controverted or denied. It has been laid down as a Maxim, and I think it is a moſt infallible Maxim, that a Man will contend with more Heat and Vigour for a Poſt, either of Honour or Profit, which he is to hold for a long Term, than he will do for one he is to hold for a ſhort Term: this has been controverted. It has been laid down as a Maxim, and I think equally infallible, that a hundred Guineas is a more powerful Bribe than fifty; this has been denied: Yet nevertheleſs, I muſt beg Leave to puſh this Argument a little further.

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'Let us ſuppoſe, Sir, a Gentleman at the Head of the Adminiſtration, whoſe only Safety depends upon corrupting the Members of this Houſe. This may now be only a Suppoſition, but it is certainly ſuch a one as may happen; and if ever it ſhould, let us ſee whether ſuch a Miniſter might not promiſe himſelf more Succeſs in a Septennial, than he could in a Triennial Parliament. It is an old Maxim, that every Man has his Price, if you can but come up to it. This, I hope, does not hold true of every Man; but I am afraid it too generally holds true; and that of a great many it may hold true, is what, I believe, was never doubted of; tho' I don't know but it may now likewiſe be denied: However, let us ſuppoſe this diſtreſſed Miniſter applying to one of thoſe Men who has a Price, and is a Member of this Houſe; in order to engage this Member to vote as he ſhall direct him, he offers him a Penſion of 1000 *l.* a Year: if it be but a Triennial Parliament, will not the Member immediately conſider within himſelf, If I accept of this Penſion, and vote according to Direction, I ſhall loſe my Character in the Country, I ſhall loſe my Seat in Parliament the next Election, and my Penſion will then of courſe be at an end; ſo that by turning Rogue I ſhall get but 3000 *l.* this is not worth my while? And ſo the Miniſter muſt either offer him, perhaps, the double of that Sum, or otherwiſe he will probably determine againſt being corrupted; but if the Parliament were Septennial, the ſame Man might perhaps ſay within himſelf, I am now in for ſeven Years; by accepting of this Penſion, I ſhall have at leaſt 7000 *l.* this will ſet me above Contempt; and if I am turned out at next Election, I do

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not value it, I'll take the Money in the mean time. Is it not very natural to ſuppoſe all this, Sir; and, does not this evidently ſhew, that a wicked Miniſter cannot corrupt a Triennial Parliament with the ſame Money with which he may corrupt a Septennial?

'Again, Suppoſe this Miniſter applies to a Gentleman who has purchaſed, and thereby made himſelf Member for a Borough, at the Rate of, perhaps, 1500 *l.* beſides travelling Charges, and other little Expences: Suppoſe the Miniſter offers him a Penſion of 500 *l.* a Year to engage his Vote, will not he naturally conſider, if it be a Triennial Parliament, that if he cannot get a higher Penſion he will loſe Money by being a Member; and ſurely, if he be a right Burgeſs, he will reſolve not to ſell at all, rather than ſell his Commodity for leſs than it coſt him; and if he finds he cannot ſell at all, he will probably give over ſtanding a Candidate again upon ſuch a footing; by which not only he, but many others, will be induced to give over dealing in corrupting the Electors at the next Election. But in caſe it be a Septennial Parliament, will he not then probably accept of the 500 *l.* Penſion, if he be one of thoſe Men that has a Price? becauſe he concludes, that for 1500 *l.* he may always ſecure his Election; and every Parliament will put near 2000 *l.* in his Pocket, beſides reimburſing him all his Charges. After viewing the preſent Queſtion in this light, is it poſſible, Sir, not to conclude, that Septennial Parliaments, as well as the Elections for ſuch, muſt always be much more liable to be influenced by Corruption, than Triennial, or the Elections for Triennial?

'For my own part, Sir, I have been often choſen; I have ſat in Parliament above theſe twenty Years; and I can ſay with Truth, that neither at my Election, nor after my Return, no Man ever dared to attempt to let me know what is meant by Bribery and Corruption; but I am ſorry to hear the Impoſſibility of preventing it mentioned, and mentioned too, Sir, within theſe Walls. The honourable Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, told us the Evil of Corruption was inevitable. If I were ſo unhappy as to think ſo, I ſhould look upon my Country to be in the moſt melancholy Situation. Perhaps it may be the way of thinking among thoſe he keeps company with; but I thank God I have a better Opinion of my Countrymen; and ſince it appears to be a way of thinking among ſome Gentlemen, it is high Time for us to contrive ſome Method of putting it out of their power to corrupt the Virtue of the People: for we may depend upon this as a certain Maxim, that thoſe who think they cannot gain the Affections of the People, will endeavour to purchaſe their Proſtitution; and the beſt way to prevent

prevent the Succeſs of their Endeavours, is to raiſe the Price ſo high as to put it out of the Power of any Man, or of any Set of Men to come up to it. If a Parliament is to be purchaſed, if Elections are to be purchaſed, it is manifeſt the corrupting of Triennial muſt, upon the whole, coſt a great deal more than the corrupting of Septennial Elections or Parliaments: Therefore, in order to put it out of the Power of any Man, or of any Adminiſtration, to purchaſe the Proſtitution of a Parliament, or of the People, let us return to Triennial Parliaments; and if that will not do, let us return to Annual Elections, which, I am very certain, would render the Practice of Corruption impoſſible. This, Sir, is now the more neceſſary, becauſe of the many new Poſts and Places of Profit which the Crown has at its Diſpoſal, and the great Civil Liſt ſettled upon his preſent Majeſty, and which will probably be continued to his Succeſſors. This, I ſay, urges the Neceſſity for frequent new Parliaments; becauſe the Crown has it now more in their Power than formerly, to ſeduce the People, or the Repreſentatives of the People, in caſe any future Adminiſtration ſhould find it neceſſary for their own Safety to do ſo.

'That the Increaſe or Decreaſe of Corruption at Elections, or in Parliament, muſt always depend upon the Increaſe or Decreaſe of Virtue among the People, I ſhall readily grant; but it is as certain, that the Virtue of almoſt every particular Man depends upon the Temptations that are thrown in his Way; and according to the Quantity of Virtue he has, the Quantity of the Temptation muſt be raiſed, ſo as at laſt to make it an Over-ballance for his Virtue. Suppoſe then, Sir, that the Generality of the Electors in England have Virtue enough to withſtand a Temptation of five Guineas each, but not Virtue enough to withſtand a Temptation of ten Guineas, one with another: Is it not then much more probable, that the Gentlemen who deal in Corruption, may be able to raiſe as much Money, once every ſeven Years, as will be ſufficient to give ten Guineas each, one with another, to the Generality of the Electors, than that they will be able to raiſe ſuch a Sum once in every three Years? And is it not from thence certain, that the Virtue of the People in general is in greater Danger of being deſtroyed by Septennial than by Triennial Parliaments? To ſuppoſe, Sir, that every Man's Vote at an Election is like a Commodity which muſt be ſold at the Market Price, is really to ſuppoſe that no Man has any Virtue at all: for I will aver, that when once a Man reſolves to ſell his Vote at any rate, he has then no Virtue left, which, I hope, is not the Caſe of many of our Electors; and therefore, the only Thing we are to apprehend

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is, leſt ſo high a Price ſhould be offered as may tempt thouſands to ſell, who had never before any Thoughts of carrying ſuch a Commodity to Market. This, Sir, is the fatal Event we are to dread, and it is much more to be dreaded from Septennial than from Triennial Parliaments. If we have therefore any Deſire to preſerve the Virtue of our People; if we have any Deſire to preſerve our Conſtitution; if we have any Deſire to preſerve our Liberties, our Properties, and every thing that can be dear to a free People, we ought to reſtore the Triennial Law; and if that be found to be inſignificant, we ought to aboliſh Prorogations, and return to Annual Elections.

'The learned Gentleman ſpoke of the Prerogative of the Crown, and aſked us, If it had lately been extended beyond thoſe Bounds preſcribed to it by Law. Sir, I will not ſay that there has been lately any Attempts to extend it beyond the Bounds preſcribed by Law; but I will ſay, that thoſe Bounds have been of late ſo vaſtly enlarged, that there ſeems to be no great Occaſion for any ſuch Attempt. What are the many Penal Laws made within theſe forty Years, but ſo many Extenſions of the Prerogative of the Crown, and as many Diminutions of the Liberty of the Subject? And whatever the Neceſſity was that brought us into the enacting of ſuch Laws, it was a fatal Neceſſity; it has greatly added to the Power of the Crown, and particular Care ought to be taken not to throw any more Weight into that Scale. Perhaps the enacting of ſeveral of thoſe penal Laws might have been avoided; I am perſuaded the enacting of the Law relating to Trials for Treaſon, not only might, but ought to have been avoided; for tho' it was but a temporary Law, it was a dangerous Precedent; and the Rebellion was far from being ſo general in any County as not to leave a ſufficient Number of faithful Subjects for trying thoſe who had committed Acts of Treaſon within the County.

'In former Times the Crown had a large Eſtate of its own; an Eſtate ſufficient for ſupporting the Dignity of the Crown; and as we had no Standing Armies, nor any great Fleets to provide for, the Crown did not want frequent Supplies; ſo that they were not under any Neceſſity of calling frequent Parliaments; and as Parliaments were always troubleſome, often dangerous to Miniſters, therefore they avoided the calling of any ſuch as much as poſſible: But tho' the Crown did not then want frequent Supplies, the People frequently wanted a Redreſs of Grievances, which could not be obtained but by Parliament; therefore the only Complaint then was, that the Crown either did not call any Parliament at all, or did not allow them to ſit long enough: This

was

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was the only Complaint, and to remedy this, it was thought ſufficient to provide for having frequent Parliaments, every one of which, 'twas preſumed, was always to be a new Parliament; for 'tis well known, that the Method of Prorogation was of old very rarely made uſe of, and was firſt introduced by thoſe who were attempting to make Incroachments upon the Rights of the People. Anno 7 Geo. II. 1733-4.

'But now, Sir, the Caſe is altered; the Crown, either by ill Management, or by Prodigality and Profuſeneſs to its Favourites, has ſpent or granted away all that Eſtate; and the publick Expence is ſo much enlarged, that the Crown muſt have annual Supplies, and is therefore under a Neceſſity of having the Parliament meet every Year; but as new Elections are always dangerous as well as troubleſome to Miniſters of State, they are for having them as ſeldom as poſſible; ſo that the Complaint is not now for want of frequent Meetings or Seſſions of Parliament, but againſt having the ſame Parliament continued too long. This is the Grievance now complained of; this is what the People deſire; this is what they have a Right to have redreſſed. The Members of Parliament may for one Year be look'd on as the real and true Repreſentatives of the People; but when a Miniſter has ſeven Years to practiſe upon them, and, to feel their Pulſes, they may be induced to forget whoſe Repreſentatives they are; they may throw off all Dependance upon their Electors, and may become Dependants upon the Crown, or rather upon the Miniſter for the Time being, which the learned Gentleman has moſt ingenuouſly confeſſed to us, he thinks leſs dangerous than a Dependance upon his Electors.

'We have been told, Sir, in this Houſe, that no Faith is to be given to Prophecies, therefore I ſhall not pretend to propheſy; but I may ſuppoſe a Caſe, which, tho' it has not yet happened, may poſſibly happen. Let us then ſuppoſe, Sir, a Man abandoned to all Notions of Virtue or Honour, of no great Family, and of but a mean Fortune, raiſed to be chief Miniſter of State, by the Concurrence of many whimſical Events; afraid or unwilling to truſt any but Creatures of his own making, and moſt of them equally abandoned to all Notions of Virtue or Honour; ignorant of the true Intereſt of his Country, and conſulting nothing but that of enriching and aggrandizing himſelf and his Favourites; in foreign Affairs truſting none but ſuch whoſe Education makes it impoſſible for them to have ſuch Knowledge or ſuch Qualifications as can either be of Service to their Country, or give any Weight or Credit to their Negociations: Let us ſuppoſe the true Intereſt of the Nation by ſuch Means neglected or miſunderſtood, her Honour and

Credit

Anno 7 Geo. II. 1733-4.

Credit loſt, her Trade inſulted, her Merchants plundered and her Sailors murdered; and all theſe Things overlooked, only for fear his Adminiſtration ſhould be endangered: Suppoſe him next poſſeſſed of great Wealth, the Plunder of the Nation, with a Parliament of his own chuſing, moſt of their Seats purchaſed, and their Votes bought at the Expence of the publick Treaſure: In ſuch a Parliament, let us ſuppoſe Attempts made to enquire into his Conduct, or to relieve the Nation from the Diſtreſs he has brought upon it; and when Lights proper for attaining thoſe Ends are called for, not perhaps for the Information of the particular Gentlemen who call for them, but becauſe nothing can be done in a Parliamentary Way, till theſe Things be in a proper Way laid before Parliament; ſuppoſe theſe Lights refuſed, theſe reaſonable Requeſts rejected by a corrupt Majority of his Creatures, whom he retains in daily Pay, or engages in his particular Intereſt, by granting them thoſe Poſts and Places which ought never to be given to any but for the Good of the Publick: Upon this Scandalous Victory, let us ſuppoſe this chief Miniſter pluming himſelf in Defiance, becauſe he finds he has got a Parliament, like a packed Jury, ready to acquit him at all adventures: Let us farther ſuppoſe him arrived to that Degree of Inſolence and Arrogance, as to domineer over all the Men of ancient Families, all the Men of Senſe, Figure or Fortune in the Nation; and as he has no Virtue of his own, ridiculing it in others, and endeavouring to deſtroy or corrupt it in all

'I am ſtill not propheſying, Sir, I am only ſuppoſing; and the Caſe I am going to ſuppoſe I hope never will happen: but with ſuch a Miniſter and ſuch a Parliament, let us ſuppoſe a Prince upon the Throne, either for want of true Information, or for ſome other Reaſon, ignorant and unacquainted with the Inclinations and the Intereſt of his People, weak, and hurried away by unbounded Ambition and inſatiable Avarice: This Caſe, Sir, has never yet happened in this Nation; I hope, I ſay, 'twill never exiſt; but as it is poſſible it may, could there any greater Curſe happen to a Nation, than ſuch a Prince on the Throne, adviſed and ſolely adviſed by ſuch a Miniſter, and that Miniſter ſupported by ſuch a Parliament. The Nature of Mankind cannot be altered by human Laws, the Exiſtence of ſuch a Prince, or ſuch a Miniſter we cannot prevent by Act of Parliament, but the Exiſtence of ſuch a Parliament I think we may; and as ſuch a Parliament is much more likely to exiſt, and may do more Miſchief while the Septennial Law remains in Force, than if it were repealed, therefore I am moſt heartily for the Repeal of it.'

Mr. Henry Pelham ſpoke next againſt the Motion:

Mr. Henry Pelham.

SIR,

'The Honourable Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, as he always guards what he ſays, and ſpeaks with ſo much Decency, that no Notice can be taken of it in a Parliamentary Way, ſo in the laſt Suppoſitions he was pleaſed to make, he obſerved ſo much Caution, that no Obſervations can be made on any Thing he ſaid, as being contrary to the Orders of this Houſe; yet whatever Suppoſitions he may pleaſe to make with reſpect to Miniſters, I think he ought not to proceed any higher, and therefore I wiſh he had ſpared the laſt: However, Sir, as theſe Suppoſitions, and indeed every other Suppoſition I have heard, are all imaginary, I ſhall take no farther Notice of them: They were certainly foreign to the Queſtion in Debate, and had, I think, been better let alone.

'As to the Contentions about Elections, I ſhall not pretend, Sir, to determine by whom they were begun, but I think I can eaſily account for their having been begun at the Time they were, and that in a Method very different from that laid down by the Honourable Gentleman who ſpoke laſt: It is well-known what a Spirit, if not of Diſaffection, I am ſure I may ſay of Diſtraction, was artfully raiſed during laſt Seſſion of Parliament, in moſt Parts of this Nation, by the Miſrepreſentation of an Affair, before it was well underſtood, and which when it came to be explained could no way bear the Meaning they put upon it: This was thought a proper Opportunity, by thoſe who raiſed that Spirit, to work upon the Paſſions of the People, in order to gain their Favour, and to engage their Votes, neither of which they knew they had any Chance for in any other Way; and this, Sir, I really believe, was the Reaſon why the Contentions about Elections began ſo early in moſt Parts of the Kingdom; ſo that if the Gentleman meant my Honourable Friend by me, he was very much miſtaken; but if he look another Way, and that within his View, he may find out the firſt chief Beginner of all theſe Diſturbances.

'As to the Queſtion itſelf, Sir, as I did not intend to have troubled you in this Debate, and as the Queſtion has been already ſo fully, and ſo handſomely oppoſed by the Honourable Gentleman under the Gallery, and by ſeveral others, I ſhall only ſay in general, that as I am not ſenſible of any Inconvenience that attends Septennial Parliaments, but what would in a much greater Degree attend Triennial, and as we know from Experience, that too frequent Elections keep the Nation in a continual Ferment, and always muſt expoſe us to the many Evils that enſue from

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from Faction and Sedition, therefore I ſhall give my Vote againſt the Queſtion.'

Hereupon Mr. William Pulteney roſe up, and ſaid:

SIR,

Mr. William Pulteney.

'I intended from the Beginning, to have ſpoke in this Debate; but as I now ſpeak ſo late in it, I can have but little new to offer, the Gentlemen who have ſpoken before me, have almoſt entirely exhauſted the Argument; and I am ſure, if thoſe who have heard the Debate are to be determined, as I hope they will, by what has been offered for and againſt the Queſtion, it will hardly bear a Diviſion. However, as I voted for this Bill on a former Occaſion, and as the principal, and indeed the only Motive, which made me do ſo, now no longer ſubſiſts, I think myſelf obliged thus publickly to declare, that I am now as zealous to have it repealed, as I then was to have it enacted. When a Country, or the Government of a Country, is in any imminent Danger, it often happens, that People think Regulations neceſſary, which when the Danger is over, appear to be attended with as pernicious Conſequences, as that very Danger which they were made to prevent; and in ſuch a Caſe, ſurely every honeſt Man muſt be as fond of having them aboliſhed, as ever he was of having them eſtabliſhed.

'The Honourable Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, tho' he let drop ſome Expreſſions with relation to that Contention already begun about our enſuing Elections, which I might take ſome Notice of, yet as he generally ſpeaks with very great Candour, I think it would be too ſevere not to pardon any Slip he may have made in that Reſpect. But as to the Spirit raiſed in the Nation laſt Seſſion of Parliament, which he ſays was raiſed by Miſrepreſentation, and was pleaſed to call a Spirit, if not of Diſaffection, at leaſt of Diſtraction, I do not know, but it may have been repreſented as ſuch in another Place; and whether that was a Miſrepreſentation, I ſhall leave to the World to judge. But of all Miſrepreſentations, I will ſay, the moſt criminal is that of miſrepreſenting to the King the true Sentiments and real Inclinations of his People; for, however much ſome Gentlemen may find their Intereſt in it, I am ſure it is not their Duty to do ſo: but I hope his preſent Majeſty will always be able to diſtinguiſh, and it is the Duty of Parliament to inform him how to diſtinguiſh between Diſaffection to his Government, and Diſaffection to his Miniſter. If the Honourable Gentleman thinks, that the Affair which occaſioned the Riſe of that Spirit, was at firſt miſrepreſented, or that it gained any Advantage by being fully explained, he

is, in the Opinion of, I believe, much the greateſt Part of the Nation, vaſtly miſtaken; for, the more ſeriouſly that Affair has been conſidered, the more fully it has been explained, the more horrible it has appeared: So that the Spirit, which was raiſed in Oppoſition to it, was ſo far from being unjuſtly, or groundleſly raiſed, that I believe it would have been for the Advantage of the Nation, that a new Election had come on, when that Spirit was in its greateſt Vigour; and I hope it will not altogether ſubſide, till the People have fully ſecured their Liberties againſt all ſuch Attempts for the future.

'To imagine, Sir, that frequent Elections ſhould ever become the Cauſe of Faction and Sedition, is, in my Opinion, ſomething very extraordinary; for it is certain, that Seditions have always proceeded from a general Diſcontent among the People, and a long Diſappointment of meeting in a legal Way, with that Redreſs which they had reaſon to expect; and till this Diſcontent becomes violent as well as general, no Faction will ever break out into Sedition: Then indeed Faction begins to change its Name, and thoſe Men, who at firſt perhaps with Juſtice were charged with being factious, become then the Patrons and the Protectors of the Rights of the People, and of the Liberties of their Country; for nothing can be called Faction, but when a Set of Men combine and unite together againſt a wiſe and a juſt Government, which no Government can be, that diſobliges and irritates the generality of the People. The certain and the only Way therefore of preventing Sedition, and diſappointing Faction, is to give the People frequent Opportunities of repreſenting their Grievances, and obtaining Redreſs in that legal Way which is preſcribed by the Conſtitution of their Country. Such a Way ought certainly to be eſtabliſhed, and is eſtabliſhed in every wiſe Conſtitution; otherwiſe the People will ſeek that by Sedition, which they find they cannot obtain by Law; and the Method which is eſtabliſhed by our Conſtitution, is by a Parliament choſen by the free and uncorrupted Voice of the People; therefore in order to avoid Sedition, every Thing ought to be carefully avoided, which may tend to the interrupting the free Choice of the People; and the oftener this Choice is made, the better our Country is guarded againſt Sedition; becauſe in a long Parliament the People may in the Beginning of it be diſobliged; they may deſpair of obtaining Redreſs from that Parliament, and before the End their Diſcontents may become ſo violent, as to break out in Seditions and Inſurrections.

'Faction and Sedition, Sir, are two Words that have always been made uſe of by the Advocates for Arbitrary

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Power, in order to induce the People to give up thoſe Privileges upon which their Liberties depended, or to divert them from reaſſuming, or vindicating thoſe which had been before fooliſhly given up, or unjuſtly uſurped and taken from them; but it is to be hoped, thoſe two hideous Words will never in this Country have the deſired Effect. It has been already fully ſhewn, that the Elections for a long Parliament muſt always be attended with more violent Heats and Animoſities than the Election for a ſhort, conſequently the Country muſt always be more expoſed to Factions and Seditions by the former, than by the latter: I do not know, but the Election for a Parliament may come at laſt to be like the Election of a King of Poland; it may be always attended with a civil War, perhaps with an unwelcome Viſit from ſome of our Neighbours. Therefore if the Fears of Faction and Sedition be any Argument againſt frequent Elections, as good an Argument may from thence be drawn againſt electing any new Parliament at all; ſo that I do not know but I may ſee a Propoſition made for continuing our Seats in this Houſe for Life; and after that, it may be thought proper to make a Law for tranſmitting them to our Heirs, nay even to our Executors or Adminiſtrators.

'An Honourable Gentleman ſeemed much ſurpriſed that the Riot-Act ſhould have been mentioned upon this Occaſion, or that any Gentleman ſhould have the leaſt Thought of having it repealed. Sir, I declare, upon my Honour, that of all the Actions I ever did in my Life, there is not one I more heartily and ſincerely repent of, than my voting for the paſſing of that Law. I believe I am as little ſuſpected of Diſaffection to his Majeſty or his Family as any Man in the Kingdom; it was my too great Zeal for his illuſtrious Family tranſported me to give that Vote, for which I am now heartily grieved: But even then I never imagined it was to remain a Law for ever; no, Sir! This Government is founded upon Reſiſtance; it was the Principle of Reſiſtance that brought about the Revolution, which cannot be juſtified upon any other Principle. Is then Paſſive Obedience and Non-Reſiſtance to be eſtabliſhed by a perpetual Law, by a Law the moſt ſevere and the moſt arbitrary of any in England, and that under a Government which owes its very Being to Reſiſtance? The Honourable Gentleman who firſt mentioned it ſaid very right, It is a Scandal it ſhould remain in our Statute Books; and I will ſay, they are no Friends to his Majeſty or to his Government who deſire it ſhould; for it deſtroys that Principle upon which is founded one of his beſt Titles to the Crown. While this remains a Law, we cannot well be called a free People; a little Juſtice of the Peace, aſſiſted perhaps by a Ser-

Serjeant and a Parcel of Hirelings, may almoſt at any time have the Lives of twenty Gentlemen of the beſt Families in England in his Power. Anno 7 Geo. II. 1733-4.

'As to Bribery and Corruption, Sir, it has been ſo fully and ſo clearly demonſtrated that Septennial Parliaments are more liable than Triennial to be influenced by ſuch baſe Methods, that I ſhall conclude with obſerving what every Gentleman I believe is ſenſible of: It is come to a moſt intolerable Height; in many, nay in moſt Parts of our Conſtitution, we are ſunk to the loweſt and vileſt Dregs of Corruption; and if ſome extraordinary Event do not prevent it, our Conſtitution will ſoon be irrecoverably loſt.'

To this Sir Robert Walpole replied:

SIR,

Sir Robert Walpole.

'I do aſſure you, I did not intend to have troubled you in this Debate, but ſuch Incidents now generally happen towards the End of our Debates, nothing at all relating to the Subject, and Gentlemen make ſuch Suppoſitions, meaning ſome Perſon, or perhaps, as they ſay, no Perſon now in Being, and talk ſo much of wicked Miniſters, domineering Miniſters, Miniſters pluming themſelves in Defiances, which Terms, and ſuch like, have been of late ſo much made uſe of in this Houſe, that if they really mean no body either in the Houſe or out of it, yet it muſt be ſuppoſed they at leaſt mean to call upon ſome Gentleman in this Houſe to make them a Reply: and therefore I hope I may be allowed to draw a Picture in my Turn; and I may likewiſe ſay, that I do not mean to give a Deſcription of any particular Perſon now in Being. When Gentlemen talk of Miniſters abandoned to all Senſe of Virtue or Honour, other Gentlemen may, I am ſure, with equal Juſtice, and, I think, more juſtly, ſpeak of Anti-miniſters and Mock-patriots, who never had either Virtue or Honour, but in the whole Courſe of their Oppoſition are actuated only by Motives of Envy, and of Reſentment againſt thoſe who may have diſappointed them in their Views, or may not perhaps have complied with all their Deſires.

'But now, Sir, let me too ſuppoſe, and the Houſe being cleared, I am ſure no Perſon that hears me can come within the Deſcription of the Perſon I am to ſuppoſe: Let us ſuppoſe in this, or in ſome other unfortunate Country, an Anti-miniſter, who thinks himſelf a Perſon of ſo great and extenſive Parts, and of ſo many eminent Qualifications, that he looks upon himſelf as the only Perſon in the Kingdom capable to conduct the publick Affairs of the Nation, and therefore chriſtening every other Gentleman, who has the Honour to be employed in the Adminiſtration, by the Name

Anno 7 Geo. II. 1733-4.

of Blunderer: Suppoſe this fine Gentleman lucky enough to have gained over to his Party ſome Perſons really of fine Parts, of ancient Families, and of great Fortunes, and others of deſperate Views, ariſing from diſappointed and malicious Hearts; all theſe Gentlemen, with reſpect to their political Behaviour, moved by him, and by him ſolely; all they ſay, either in private or publick, being only a Repetition of the Words he has put into their Mouths, and a ſpitting out of that Venom which he has infuſed into them; and yet we may ſuppoſe this Leader not really liked by any, even of thoſe who ſo blindly follow him, and hated by all the reſt of Mankind: We'll ſuppoſe this Anti-miniſter to be in a Country where he really ought not to be, and where he could not have been but by an Effect of too much Goodneſs and Mercy, yet endeavouring with all his Might, and with all his Art, to deſtroy the Fountain from whence that Mercy flowed: In that Country, ſuppoſe him continually contracting Friendſhips and Familiarities with the Ambaſſadors of thoſe Princes, who at the Time happen to be moſt at Enmity with his own. And if at any Time it ſhould happen to be for the Intereſt of any of thoſe foreign Miniſters to have a Secret divulged to them, which might be highly prejudicial to his native Country, as well as to all its Friends; ſuppoſe this foreign Miniſter applying to him, and he anſwering, I'll get it you, tell me but what you want, I'll endeavour to procure it for you. Upon this, he puts a Speech or two in the Mouths of ſome of his Creatures, or ſome of his new Converts: what he wants, is moved for in Parliament; and when ſo very reaſonable a Requeſt as this is refuſed, ſuppoſe him and his Creatures and Tools, by his Advice, ſpreading the Alarm over the whole Nation, and crying out, Gentlemen, our Country is at preſent involved in many dangerous Difficulties, all which we would have extricated you from, but a wicked Miniſter, and a corrupt Majority, refuſed us the proper Materials; and upon this ſcandalous Victory, this Miniſter became ſo inſolent as to plume himſelf in Defiances. Let us farther ſuppoſe this Anti-miniſter to have travelled, and at every Court where he was, thinking himſelf the greateſt Miniſter, and making it his Trade to betray the Secrets of every Court where he had before been; void of all Faith or Honour, and betraying every Maſter he ever ſerved. Sir, I could carry my Suppoſitions a great deal farther; and, I may ſay, I mean no Perſon now in Being: but if we can ſuppoſe ſuch a one, can there be imagined a greater Diſgrace to Human Nature than ſuch a Wretch as this?

Now

Anno 7 Geo. II. 1733-4.

'Now, Sir, to be ſerious, and to talk really to the Subject in hand: Tho' the Queſtion has been already ſo fully and ſo handſomely oppoſed by my worthy Friend under the Gallery, by the learned Gentleman near me, and by ſeveral others, that there is no great Occaſion to ſay any Thing farther againſt it; yet as ſome new Matter has been ſtarted by ſome of the Gentlemen who have ſince that Time ſpoke upon the other Side of the Queſtion, I hope the Houſe will indulge me the Liberty of giving ſome of thoſe Reaſons which induce me to be againſt the Motion. In general, I muſt take Notice, that the Nature of our Conſtitution ſeems to be very much miſtaken by the Gentlemen who have ſpoken in favour of this Motion. It is certain, that ours is a mixt Government, and the Perfection of our Conſtitution conſiſts in this, that the Monarchical, Ariſtocratical and Democratical Forms of Government are mixt and interwoven in ours, ſo as to give us all the Advantages of each, without ſubjecting us to the Dangers and Inconveniencies of either. The Democratical Form of Government, which is the only one I have now Occaſion to take Notice of, is liable to theſe Inconveniences, That they are generally too tedious in their coming to any Reſolution, and ſeldom briſk and expeditious enough in carrying their Reſolutions into Execution: That they are always wavering in their Reſolutions, and never ſteady in any of the Meaſures they reſolve to purſue; and that they are often involved in Factions, Seditions and Inſurrections, which expoſes them to be made the Tools, if not the Prey of their Neighbours: Therefore in all the Regulations we make, with reſpect to our Conſtitution, we are to guard againſt running too much into that Form of Government which is properly called Democratical: This was, in my Opinion, the Effect of the Triennial Law, and will again be the Effect, if ever it ſhould be reſtored.

'That Triennial Elections would make our Government too tedious in all their Reſolves, is evident, becauſe in ſuch Caſe, no prudent Adminiſtration would ever reſolve upon any Meaſure of Conſequence, till they had felt not only the Pulſe of the Parliament, but the Pulſe of the People; and the Miniſters of State would always labour under this Diſadvantage, that as Secrets of State muſt not be immediately divulged, their Enemies (and Enemies they will always have) would have a Handle for expoſing their Meaſures, and rendering them diſagreeable to the People, and thereby carrying perhaps a new Election againſt them, before they could have an Opportunity of juſtifying their Meaſures, by divulging thoſe Facts and Circumſtances from whence

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whence the Juſtice and the Wiſdom of their Meaſures would clearly appear.

'Then, Sir, it is by Experience well known, that what is called the Populace of every Country, are apt to be too much elated with Succeſs, and too much dejected with every Misfortune; this makes them wavering in their Opinions about Affairs of State, and never long of the ſame Mind: and as this Houſe is choſen by the free and unbyaſſed Voice of the People in general, if this Choice were ſo often renewed, we might expect, that this Houſe would be as wavering, and as unſteady as the People uſually are; and it being impoſſible to carry on the publick Affairs of the Nation without the Concurrence of this Houſe, the Miniſters would always be obliged to comply, and conſequently would be obliged to change their Meaſures as often as the People changed their Minds.

'With Septennial Parliaments, Sir, we are not expoſed to either of theſe Misfortunes, becauſe, if the Miniſters, after having felt the Pulſe of the Parliament, which they can always ſoon do, reſolve upon any Meaſures, they have generally Time enough before the new Election comes on, to give the People a proper Information, in order to ſhew them the Juſtice and the Wiſdom of the Meaſures they have purſued; and if the People ſhould at any Time be too much elated, or too much dejected, or ſhould without a Cauſe change their Minds, thoſe at the Helm of Affairs have Time to ſet them Right, before a new Election comes on.

'As to Faction and Sedition, Sir, I will grant that in Monarchical and Ariſtocratical Governments, it generally ariſes from Violence and Oppreſſion; but in Democratical Governments, it always ariſes from the People's having too great a Share in the Government: for in all Countries, and in all Governments, there always will be many factious and unquiet Spirits, who can never be at Reſt either in Power or out of Power: When in Power, they are never eaſy, unleſs every Man ſubmits entirely to their Direction; and when out of Power, they are always working and intriguing againſt thoſe that are in, without any Regard to Juſtice, or to the Intereſt of their Country. In popular Governments ſuch Men have too much Game, they have too many Opportunities for working upon and corrupting the Minds of the People, in order to give them a bad Impreſſion of, and to raiſe Diſcontents againſt thoſe that have the Management of the publick Affairs for the Time; and theſe Diſcontents often break out into Seditions and Inſurrections. This, Sir, would in my Opinion be our Misfortune, if our Parliaments were either Annual or Triennial: By ſuch frequent Elections, there would

would be ſo much Power thrown into the Hands of the People, as would deſtroy that equal Mixture, which is the Beauty of our Conſtitution: In ſhort, our Government would really become a Democratical Government, and might from thence very probably diverge into a tyrannical. Therefore, in order to preſerve our Conſtitution, in order to prevent our falling under Tyranny and Arbitrary Power, we ought to preſerve that Law, which I really think has brought our Conſtitution to a more equal Mixture, and conſequently greater Perfection than it was ever in before that Law took place. Anno 7 Geo. II. 1733-4.

'As to Bribery and Corruption, Sir, if it were poſſible to influence, by ſuch baſe Means, the Majority of the Electors of Great Britain, to chuſe ſuch Men as would probably give up their Liberties; if it were poſſible to influence, by ſuch Means, a Majority of the Members of this Houſe to conſent to the Eſtabliſhment of Arbitary Power, I ſhould readily allow, that the Calculations made by the Gentlemen of the other Side were juſt, and their Inference true; but I am perſuaded, that neither of theſe is poſſible. As the Members of this Houſe generally are, and muſt always be, Gentlemen of Fortune and Figure in their Country; is it poſſible to ſuppoſe, that any of them could by a Penſion or a Poſt be influenced to conſent to the Overthrow of our Conſtitution, by which the Enjoyment, not only of what he got, but of what he before had, would be rendered altogether precarious? I will allow, Sir, that with reſpect to Bribery, the Price muſt be higher or lower, generally in proportion to the Virtue of the Man who is to be bribed; but it muſt likewiſe be granted, that the Humour he happens to be in at the Time, the Spirit he happens to be endowed with, adds a great deal to his Virtue: When no Incroachments are made upon the Rights of the People, when the People do not think themſelves in any danger, there may be many of the Electors, who, by a Bribe of ten Guineas, might be induced to vote for one Candidate rather than another; but if the Court were making any Incroachments upon the Rights of the People, a proper Spirit would, without doubt, ariſe in the Nation, and in ſuch a Caſe I am perſuaded, that none, or very few, even of ſuch Electors, could be induced to vote for a Court-Candidate, no not for ten times the Sum.

'There may, Sir, be ſome Bribery and Corruption in the Nation, I am afraid there will always be ſome; but it is no Proof of it, that Strangers are ſometimes choſen: for a Gentleman may have ſo much natural Influence over a Borough in his Neighbourhood, as to be able to prevail

Anno 7 Geo. II. 1733-4.

prevail with them to chuſe any Perſon he pleaſes to recommend; and if upon ſuch Recommendation they chuſe one or two of his Friends, who are perhaps Strangers to them, it is not from thence to be inferred, that the two Strangers were choſen their Repreſentatives by the Means of Bribery and Corruption.

'To inſinuate, Sir, that Money may be iſſued from the publick Treaſury for bribing Elections, is really ſomething very extraordinary; eſpecially in thoſe Gentlemen who know how many Checks are upon every Shilling that can be iſſued from thence; and how regularly the Money granted in one Year for the publick Service of the Nation, muſt always be accounted for the very next Seſſion in this Houſe, and likewiſe in the other, if they have a mind to call for any ſuch Account. And as to the Gentlemen in Offices, if they have any Advantage over Country Gentlemen, in having ſomething elſe to depend on beſides their own private Fortunes, they have likewiſe many Diſadvantages: They are obliged to live here at London with their Families, by which they are put to a much greater Expence, than Gentlemen of equal Fortunes who live in the Country: This lays them under a very great Diſadvantage, with reſpect to the ſupporting their Intereſt in the Country. The Country Gentleman, by living among the Electors, and purchaſing the Neceſſaries for his Family from them, keeps up an Acquaintance and Correſpondence with them, without putting himſelf to any extraordinary Charge; whereas a Gentleman who lives in London, has no other Way of keeping up an Acquaintance or Correſpondence among his Friends in the Country, but by going down once or twice a Year at a very extraordinary Charge, and often without any other Buſineſs: ſo that we may conclude, a Gentleman in Office cannot, even in ſeven Years, ſave much for diſtributing in ready Money, at the Time of an Election; and I really believe, if the Fact were narrowly enquir'd into, it would appear, that the Gentlemen in Office are as little guilty of bribing their Electors with ready Money, as any other Set of Gentlemen in the Kingdom.

'That there are Ferments often raiſed among the People without any juſt Cauſe, is what I am ſurpriſed to hear controverted, ſince very late Experience may convince us of the contrary: Do not we know what a Ferment was raiſed in the Nation towards the latter End of the late Queen's Reign? and it is well known what a fatal Change in the Affairs of this Nation was introduced or at leaſt confirmed by an Election's coming on while the Nation was in that Ferment. Do not we know what

a Ferment was raiſed in the Nation ſoon after his late Majeſty's Acceſſion? And if an Election had then been allowed to come on while the Nation was in that Ferment, it might perhaps have had as fatal Effects as the former; but, thank God, this was wiſely provided againſt by the very Law which is now wanted to be repealed. Anno 7 Geo. II. 1733-4.

'It has indeed, Sir, been ſaid, That the chief Motive for enacting that Law now no longer exiſts: I cannot admit that the Motive they mean was the chief Motive; but even that Motive is very far from having entirely ceaſed. Can Gentlemen imagine, that in the Spirit raiſed in the Nation but about a Twelvemonth ſince, Jacobitiſm and Diſaffection to the preſent Government had no Share? Perhaps ſome who might wiſh well to the preſent Eſtabliſhment did co-operate, nay, I do not know but they were the firſt Movers of that Spirit; but it cannot be ſuppoſed that the Spirit then raiſed ſhould have grown up to ſuch a Ferment, meerly from a Propoſition which was honeſtly and fairly laid before a Parliament, and left entirely to their Determination. No, Sir, the Spirit was perhaps begun by thoſe who are truly Friends to the illuſtrious Family we have now upon the Throne; but it was raiſed to a much greater Height than, I believe, even they deſigned by Jacobites, and ſuch as are Enemies to our preſent Eſtabliſhment, who thought they never had a fairer Opportunity of bringing about what they have ſo long and ſo unſucceſsfully wiſhed for, than that which had been furniſhed them by thoſe who firſt raiſed that Spirit. I hope the People have now in a great meaſure come to themſelves, and therefore I doubt not but the next Elections will ſhew, that when they are left to judge coolly they can diſtinguiſh between the real and the pretended Friends to the Government: But I muſt ſay, if the Ferment then raiſed in the Nation had not already greatly ſubſided, I ſhould have thought a new Election a very dangerous Experiment; and as ſuch Ferments may hereafter often happen, I muſt think that frequent Elections will always be dangerous; for which Reaſon, in ſo far as I can ſee at preſent, I ſhall, I believe, at all Times think it a very dangerous Experiment to repeal the Septennial Bill.'

Then the Queſtion being put upon Mr. Bromley's Motion, it paſs'd in the Negative by 247 to 184.

Mr. Bromley's Motion for repealing the Septennial Act paſſes in the Negative.

March 28, Sir Robert Walpole preſented to the Houſe the following Meſſage from his Majeſty:

Anno 7 Geo. II. 1734.

GEORGE R.

" His Majeſty very thankfully acknowledges the Zeal " and Affection which this Parliament has ſhewn, in the " early Diſpatch they have already made in the neceſſary " Supplies for the Publick Service. But the War which " has broke out in Europe, ſtill unhappily continuing, " His Majeſty has nothing more at Heart than to ſee that " Flame extinguiſhed, and to avoid, if poſſible, the engag- " ing His Subjects in the Hazards and Expence of a War; " being at the ſame time deſirous neither to give any juſt " Alarm to other Nations, nor ſubject himſelf to any un- " provoked Inſults.——In this view, and to the end that " His Majeſty's Endeavours, in Conjunction with His Al- " lies, for procuring an Accommodation, may in due time " have the deſir'd Effect, and that His Majeſty may be in " a Condition to make good ſuch Engagements as Honour, " Juſtice, and Prudence may call upon him to fulfil or con- " tract, and that his Kingdom may not be left expoſed to any " deſperate Attempts, during ſuch time as it may be im- " poſſible for His Majeſty to have the immediate Advice and " Aſſiſtance of his Great Council, upon any Emergency a- " riſing from the preſent Poſture of Affairs in Europe, " which may nearly concern the Intereſt and Safety of theſe " Kingdoms; His Majeſty hopes, he ſhall be enabled and " ſupported by his Parliament, in making ſuch future Aug- " mentation of his Forces, either by Sea or Land, as may " be abſolutely neceſſary for the Honour and Defence of " His Kingdom; and in concerting ſuch Meaſures as the " Exigency of Affairs may require. Whatever Augmenta- " tions ſhall be made, or Services performed on Account " thereof, ſhall be laid before the next Parliament."

Sir Robert Walpole preſents a Meſſage from the King, to enable his Majeſty to augment his Forces, if Occaſion ſhould require it, between the Diſſolution of this Parliament and the Election of another.

A Motion being made by Sir Robert Walpole, for taking the ſaid Meſſage into Conſideration the next Day, Mr. Shippen ſtood up, and ſaid,

Debate on a Motion for taking the ſaid Meſſage into Conſideration.

Mr. William Shippen.

SIR,

' When I reflect upon what happened in this Houſe the very firſt Day of this Seſſion, I am a good deal ſurpriſed at a Meſſage of this Nature; and the more, that it is now brought in upon us at the very End of a Seſſion, and that Seſſion, I ſuppoſe, the laſt of a long Parliament. I remember that I, as well as ſome other Gentlemen, took Exception at ſome Words propoſed to be in our Addreſs, in Anſwer to his Majeſty's Speech from the Throne at the Opening of this Seſſion, becauſe they ſeemed to bear ſomething like a Promiſe of a Vote of Credit; upon which Occaſion the Honourable Gentleman who has made you this Motion, and his Friends, pretended to be greatly aſtoniſhed at our

Se-

Sagacity, and ſeemed, as I then thought, to give us Aſſurances that nothing of that Kind ſhould be aſked for in this Seſſion. Anno 7 Geo. II. 1734.

'I muſt confeſs, Sir, I had ſome ſort of Dependance upon what they ſaid, but as they were only the Words and Promiſes of Miniſters of State, in which I never had any great Faith, I begin now to be aſhamed even of that little Confidence I put in them. I do not know indeed but they may now find an Excuſe for their Breach of Promiſe in this reſpect; for I muſt grant that what they now aſk for is not properly a Vote of Credit, it is an abſolute Surrender of all we have in the World. This, indeed, is laying the Ax to the Root of the Tree, and may prevent our being ever troubled with any Demands for the future: But as this is an Affair of the greateſt Conſequence to the whole Nation, as well as to the Gentlemen now in this Houſe, I hope ſome longer Time will be given to Gentlemen to conſider of ſuch an extraordinary Demand, before they be obliged to determine what they are to do; for if they once agree to ſuch a Grant, it may be generouſly and voluntarily reſtored, but it will never be in their Power to reſume it.

'When we come to take the Meſſage into our Conſideration, I don't doubt, Sir, but the Honourable Gentleman who brought it will not only give us the Reaſons, why it became neceſſary for his Majeſty to ſend us ſuch a Meſſage, but why it was ſo long in being ſent; therefore I ſhall not till then ſo much ſuſpect his Candour, as to think there was any unfair Deſign in delaying it till ſo many Gentlemen are gone into the Country: but as it has been ſo long delay'd, I hope ſome few Days will be granted before we take it into Conſideration, that ſome of thoſe Gentlemen may have Time to return: I ſhall not pretend to name any Day; but if the Honourable Gentleman will be ſo good as to withdraw his Motion, I doubt not of ſome other Gentleman's riſing up to propoſe ſome more diſtant Day.'

To this Sir Robert Walpole replied;

SIR,

'I have not forgot what paſs'd in this Houſe the firſt Day of the Seſſion: I remember that ſome Gentlemen did then take Exceptions to ſome Expreſſions in the Addreſs propoſed, as if a Promiſe of a Vote of Credit was couched under theſe Expreſſions: And upon that Occaſion I might for once take the liberty to aſſure the Houſe, that no ſuch Uſe ſhould be made, or was intended to be made, of any Expreſſion then propoſed to be put into our Addreſs. This, I remember, was what I ſaid, and I ſaid no more: Nor can I believe that any more was ſaid by any Gentleman in Sir Robert Walpole.

Anno 7 Geo. II. 1734.

this Houſe; for as the Neceſſity of demanding Votes of Credit depend upon future Events, it would have been ridiculous for any Gentleman to have pretended to have promiſed, that no ſuch Thing ſhould be deſired.

'As to the Meſſage itſelf, it is not now proper to enter into the Merits of it, or into the Cauſes which have produced it; but in all the Time I have had the Honour to ſit in Parliament, I remember no Inſtance where a Meſſage, ſigned by the King, has not been next Day taken into Conſideration. This is a Reſpect which has been always paid to the Crown; and I am ſure his preſent Majeſty has never done any thing to merit leſs Reſpect being paid by the Parliament to him, than what has been paid to all his Predeceſſors. I am perſuaded, when we come to enter into the Merits of the Meſſage, there can be no Reaſon found for making a Diſtinction between this and the former Meſſages of the like nature; and the Neceſſity of ſending it at this Conjuncture will be made fully appear: therefore, as I have already moved, I hope the Houſe will take it into Conſideration to-morrow Morning.'

Sir William Wyndham ſpoke next:

Sir William Wyndham.

SIR,

'I muſt own my Surpriſe is as great as my worthy Friend's, that a Meſſage of this nature ſhould be ſent to this Houſe ſo near the Cloſe of this Seſſion; for whatever Promiſes were or were not made the firſt Day of the Seſſion, I am very ſure moſt Gentlemen expected that every thing of Conſequence had been over long before this Time; and upon this general Preſumption, a great many Gentlemen, who have not the Honour to be let into Miniſterial Secrets, are gone into the Country; it being at preſent more neceſſary, perhaps, than uſual, for ſuch Gentlemen to return to their reſpective Countries, in order to prevent their being bought and jobbed out of that natural Intereſt by which only they can expect to enjoy the Honour of repreſenting their Country in Parliament. But however neceſſary their Preſence may be at this Time, yet if Time be allowed them, I doubt not but moſt of them will think it their Duty to return to the Service of their Country in this Houſe, when they hear that a Matter of ſo very great Importance is to come before us; it is, I think, Sir, a Matter of the higheſt Importance; it is, as my worthy Friend called it, an abſolute Surrender of our All, a Surrender of the Rights, and a delegating the Power of Parliament to the Crown. This abſolute Power, 'tis true, is now demanded but till next Seſſion of Parliament; but if it were not for the great Confidence I repoſe in his preſent Majeſty,

jeſty, I ſhould be much afraid the next Seſſion would never be allowed to meet, unleſs upon the new Election a Majority of the Members ſhould appear to be ſuch as would be ready to confirm, or to renew that Surrender.

'The honourable Gentleman on the Floor has told us, that it has always been uſual to ſhew ſo much Reſpect to the Crown, as to take ſuch Meſſages as the preſent into our Conſideration the very next Day, and that he remembers no Inſtance to the contrary. 'Tis true, Sir, ſince I have ſat in Parliament, I remember many, but too many, Meſſages ſomething of this Nature; and I believe they have always been taken into Conſideration the next Day; but that did not proceed ſo much from the Reſpect we owe to the Crown, as from the Cauſe of ſending the Meſſage: There never was a Meſſage of this kind ſent from the Crown, but when the Nation was threatened with ſome ſuch thing as an immediate Invaſion or Inſurrection, which in the Body of the Meſſage was expreſſed to be the Reaſon or Cauſe of ſending ſuch a Meſſage; and as in ſuch Caſes the near Approach of the Danger required the immediate concerting of proper Meaſures to prevent it, we may ſuppoſe this was the chief Reaſon of their being ſo immediately taken into Conſideration by this Houſe. But as we are generally apt to improve upon bad Precedents, I will be bold to ſay, there never was ſuch a Meſſage ſent to Parliament as the preſent, either with reſpect to its Nature, to the Reaſon of ſending it, or to the Time of its being ſent. By no Meſſage that was ever ſent to Parliament, was there an abſolute and unlimited Power demanded by the Crown; which to every Gentleman muſt appear, at firſt ſight, to be the Demand now made upon us: there was never ſuch a Meſſage ſent to Parliament, but what informed us of ſome immediate Danger impending, and juſt ready to fall upon the Nation. By the preſent Meſſage we are told of no ſuch Thing; nor do I believe that any ſuch Thing can be pretended: and I remember no Inſtance of a Meſſage any way reſembling this, that ever was ſent to this Houſe the very End of a Seſſion, and that Seſſion the laſt of a Parliament.

'I cannot indeed, Sir, form to my ſelf a Reaſon why any ſuch Meſſage ſhould have been at all ſent; and much leſs can I form a Reaſon why it ſhould have been ſent at ſuch a remarkable Time; therefore I muſt think, that Gentlemen will certainly expect to be informed by thoſe who are able to inform them, what Neceſſity there was for this Meſſage, and from what ſudden, and, till now, unforeſeen Change in our Affairs the ſending of ſuch a Meſſage has now become more neceſſary, than it was at any Time during the former

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part of the Seſſion: But whatever may be told us as to this particular, conſidering that almoſt one half of the Houſe are, for Reaſons we all know, retired to the Country, in Decency, I think, and out of Regard to our own Proceedings, as well as out of Reſpect to the Crown; whatever is to be done in conſequence of this Meſſage, ought to be done in a full Houſe. Whether you ſhould order a Call, or which may be a ſhorter and more effectual Method, direct Letters to the Sheriffs, I ſhall leave to Gentlemen to determine; but one of the two ought certainly to be done, unleſs the honourable Gentleman who brought us the Meſſage, will riſe up and inform us of ſome imminent Danger we are now threatned with: and, even in that caſe, I think ſome few Days ought to be allowed, that thoſe Gentlemen, at leaſt, who are at no great Diſtance, may have Time to come up, and attend the Service of the Houſe upon this important Occaſion; otherwiſe it will look like ſtealing a Reſolution of the Houſe, when Gentlemen's Backs are turned; which, I am ſure, can teſtify no great Reſpect to the Crown. Sir, if we are really threatened with any immediate Danger, I ſhall propoſe the taking of this Meſſage into our Conſideration on Monday or Tueſday next; and I am ſure, let the Neceſſity be never ſo preſſing, let the Danger be never ſo great, ſo ſhort a Delay can be attended with no great Inconvenience; and whatever Reſolution you may come to, it will carry the greater Weight, and will be the more effectual for obviating any impending Danger.'

To this Sir William Yonge anſwered:

Sir William Yonge.

SIR,

'I remember no Promiſes or Aſſurances given the firſt Day of the Seſſion, other than thoſe which the honourable Gentleman by me has fully and rightly ſtated to you; and as no Gentleman has drawn, or, I believe, will draw any Argument in favour of the preſent Queſtion, from any Words or Expreſſions in the Addreſs then agreed to, I do not think that either the Promiſes then made, or the Aſſurances then given, can have any relation to the preſent Debate. But Gentlemen are very apt, I find, to wander from the Affair in hand; and in particular, the honourable Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, has entered a good deal into the Merits of the Queſtion, which I cannot think either proper or neceſſary at preſent; for, in my Opinion, all that is now before us, is, whether we ſhould take the Meſſage into our Conſideration to-morrow, or put it off for a longer Day; and therefore I ſhall confine myſelf entirely to this, without anticipating your future Debate with relation to the

the Meſſage itſelf. As to the Queſtion now before us, the honourable Gentleman who ſpoke laſt owns, that he knows of no Meſſage from the Crown that was ever ſent to Parliament, but what was next Day taken into Conſideration; and by this, I really think he ſeems to give up the Queſtion; but then he has endeavoured to make a Diſtinction between this Meſſage and thoſe formerly ſent by the Crown to Parliament: Whether any ſuch Diſtinction can be made or not, is, in my Opinion, a Queſtion that cannot be reſolved till we come to take the Meſſage into our Conſideration; and then, I believe every Gentleman in this Houſe will ſee that there is no material Difference between this and former Meſſages of the like nature. As to the Time of ſending this Meſſage, it is certain that the Crown never does ſend ſuch Meſſages, but when ſome Exigency of Affairs, in a manner, forces them to do ſo. It is always the Neceſſities of State that obliges the Crown to ask for any extraordinary Powers from Parliament; and whether the Neceſſity for asking for ſuch Powers falls out early or late in a Seſſion, or in the firſt or laſt Seſſion of a Parliament, ſeems not material. It is by the Neceſſity there is for granting ſuch Powers, that Gentlemen are to be induced to grant the Powers demanded, and not by any Conſideration as to the Time of making the Demand: And as it cannot appear to us, whether the Neceſſity for granting what is now asked for, be urgent or not, till we have taken the Meſſage into Conſideration, as it cannot till then appear whether the ſhorteſt Delay may not be attended with great Inconveniencies, therefore the ſooner it is taken into Conſideration, the better; for which Reaſon I muſt think, that the Motion made by the honourable Gentleman near me, for taking it into Conſideration to-morrow Morning, is a proper and a right Motion: And whoever has a mind to ſhew us the contrary, will, I hope, confine himſelf to that only, without entering into the Merits of the Queſtion.'

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Sir John Barnard ſpoke next:

Sir,

'The honourable Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, has been pleaſed to find fault with my worthy Friend by me, for entering, as he called it, into the Merits of the Queſtion; but that Gentleman ought to conſider, that there is a very great Difference between ſpeaking to the Nature of a Queſtion, and entering into the Merits of it. My worthy Friend ſpoke, indeed, as to the Nature of the Meſſage now before us; and I would gladly know, from the honourable Gentleman over the Way, or any other, how it is poſſible to ſpeak to the preſent Queſtion, as to the Neceſſity of

Sir John Barnard.

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of its being taken into Conſideration to-morrow, without explaining a little the Nature of what is to be taken into Conſideration; but no Gentleman has as yet entered into the Merits of the Meſſage, which I take to be, Whether it ought to be complied with or not?

'I hope neither the hon. Gentleman, nor any other Gentleman, will lay it down as an infallible and unalterable Rule, that this Houſe is to take every Meſſage immediately into their Conſideration that may be hereafter brought from the Crown; and if we have any Liberty in this Reſpect, ſurely we muſt examine a little into the Nature of the Meſſage ſent us, in order to determine, whether we are immediately to take the Meſſage into our Conſideration, or defer it to a longer Day. If upon the Face of the Meſſage it had appeared, if his Majeſty had thereby ſo much as inſinuated, that the Nation had been in any immediate Danger, I ſhould have readily agreed to the Motion now made to us; but as no ſuch Thing is inſinuated, nor can, I believe, be ſuppoſed, I cannot think there is any Neceſſity for our entering ſo immediately into the Conſideration of a Queſtion of ſo great Importance: it may perhaps be the laſt Queſtion that can ever be taken into Conſideration by a legal and free Parliament of Great-Britain; therefore, I think it extremely reaſonable to give a few Days to thoſe Gentlemen who are here to conſider of it, and that thoſe who are abſent, at leaſt ſuch as are near the Town, may have Time to return.'

Sir John Barnard was back'd by Lord Coleraine, as follows:

SIR,

Lord Coleraine.

'Tho' a juſt Senſe of my Inability to ſpeak my Mind here, in a manner worthy the Attention of this auguſt Aſſembly, and becoming the Character of a Member thereof, heighten'd with the great Awe that ſtrikes me on every ſuch Attempt, has generally oblig'd me to bury in Silence ſuch Thoughts as have occurred to me in the ſeveral weighty Debates at which I have had the Honour to aſſiſt, during the moſt Part of this preſent Parliament; and content myſelf with attending to thoſe that have expreſſed their own Sentiments (ſometimes not different from mine) with that becoming Freedom and Copiouſneſs, that engaging Propriety and Eloquence, to which I dare not aſpire; yet my diſintereſted Love to my Country, and a due Regard to the great Truſt repoſed in every one of us, will not permit me to be always confin'd within the ſafer Limits of a ſimple Negative or Affirmative.

'When we were called upon from the Throne at the opening of this Seſſion, to grant, in Regard of a diſtant War, larger

larger Supplies than have perhaps ever been known in time of Peace, when on the ſeeming Aſſurance ſo early given us by an honourable and knowing Gentleman principally employ'd in the Conduct of Affairs both at home and abroad, we proceeded with ſuch Diſpatch in providing for the Public Service recommended to our Care, as to obtain, after little more than two Months ſitting (what muſt be ever grateful to every Member of this Houſe) His Majeſty's thankful Acknowledgments of our approved Zeal and dutiful Affection: Then I ſay (and I believe I ſpeak the Senſe of many) this expiring Parliament could have expected any thing as ſoon as to receive the Honour of his Majeſty's Thanks accompanied (if not alloy'd) with a Deſire that we would, with our laſt public Breath, ſubject our Countrymen to further unlimited, and perhaps unneceſſary Burthens, by delegating a Power we are quickly to reſign into the Hands of the Crown, which may be adviſed by its Miniſters to uſe it further than we could think it neceſſary or reaſonable to do.

'Thus we may indeed pay a Compliment, not only to the Crown and its Miniſter, but even to their favourite Embryo, the next approaching Parliament, by making ourſelves anſwerable for the Burthen of thoſe Forces, that may thus be raiſed, when we ſhall have no Authority, as well as the ample Supplies we granted while we had. But I cannot think this would be a juſt Return to our Electors, or a kind Legacy to the reſt of our Fellow-Subjects. Nay, it appears to me a very melancholly Proſpect, to look upon this Nation as left ſtill expoſed to any ſuch deſperate Attempts as may hazard our Safety, when ſuch Supplies have been already voted and provided for, when the War is ſeated ſo far from us, our propereſt Allies ſo much more immediately concern'd in it, and the next Parliament in ſo great a Forwardneſs to be elected and convened, to enable his Majeſty to make ſuch further Augmentations by Sea and Land, as may become neceſſary for the Honour and Defence of his Kingdoms.

'I well remember, that when ſome Gentlemen propos'd at the Beginning of the Seſſion, humbly to addreſs his Majeſty to let us know how far his good Offices had proceeded with one or other of the contending Powers, and what Engagements, if any, had been enter'd into on his Part; that Enquiry was oppos'd, and we were given to believe that little or nothing had been engaged: But now we are told of Engagements in Honour and Juſtice to be fulfill'd, as well as others in Prudence to be contracted. But I would yet hope, that without this extraordinary Vote his Majeſty's Endeavours to procure an happy Accommodation may be ſucceſsful;

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ful; and that the rather, because we are again told, that they are to be used in Conjunction with his Ally; and it does not yet appear, that our most natural, necessary, and interested Ally against a powerful Kingdom near us, is engaged, or willing to engage in behalf of their Great Neighbour, who they are said to have declar'd too hastily engaged in the Quarrel. I think we ought not in Prudence to be before-hand with that Neighbour-State on this Occasion, lest unawares we become Principals in a bloody and expensive War, while they that are more immediately concerned enjoy an Increase of Commerce, and wait the Fruits of our Blood and Treasure.

'For these Reasons, I am against extending our own Power beyond its just Duration, and invading the Rights of a succeeding Parliament.'

Then Mr. Plumer stood up, and said:

Mr. Plumer. SIR,

'I shall always be as ready as any Gentleman in this House, to concur on all Occasions in strengthening the Hands of the Crown in a proper Manner, and when it shall appear necessary; but as the Powers now demanded are of a most extraordinary Nature, as the granting of them will certainly be a giving up in a great measure the Power of Parliament for a Time; if we are to make such a Grant, I think it ought not to be precipitantly made. It ought to be done with the greatest Caution, and in a full a House, as can possibly be had.

'As to the Respect we ought to shew to the Crown, it has nothing to do with the present Question: Our Respect to the Crown, Sir, has nothing to do with this Message or any Message that can come from the Crown; for tho' they bear the King's Name, yet, when we come to consider them, we are to look upon them as coming from the Ministers, and we may treat them in such a manner as we think they deserve, without incroaching in the least upon that Respect we owe to the Crown. Are we to be told, that out of Respect to the Crown, we must always take such Messages immediately into our Consideration? Sir, if this Doctrine should prevail, we shall next be told, that, out of Respect to the Crown we ought always to comply with such Messages; and then it will be in the Power of the Ministers to advise the Crown to send such Messages as may be very dishonourable for the Parliament to comply with, nay, inconsistent with the real Interest of the Crown, however necessary for the Purposes of the Ministers at the Time.

'By the Law of England, Sir, we know, that when

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Man is dying and about to make his Will, if any real Eſtate is thereby to be deviſed, the Will muſt be made before three Witneſſes, which is a greater Number than is neceſſary upon any other Occaſion: We are, Sir, a dying Parliament, and the Crown now deſires we ſhould make our Will, and leave them by way of Legacy all we have in the World. If we are to do ſo, I think we ought to call, at leaſt as many Witneſſes, as are uſual upon moſt other Occaſions; and therefore we ought to delay the Conſideration of this Meſſage, till the abſent Members have Time to return.'

The Queſtion being then put, on Sir Robert Walpole's Motion, it paſſed in the Affirmative, by 211 to 121.

March 29. The above Meſſage from the King being taken into Conſideration; Sir Robert Walpole ſtood up, and ſpoke as follows:

SIR,

Sir Robert Walpole.

'As I had the Honour, to bring his Majeſty's moſt gracious Meſſage to this Houſe, and likewiſe to move for your taking it this Day under your Conſideration, I think it incumbent on me to offer what I judge to be proper, adviſeable, and even becoming this Houſe to do upon it. The Manner, Sir, in which his Majeſty's Speech was conceived, the Difference that was obſervable in it from former Speeches, the Notice thereby given by his Majeſty to Parliament of the Situation of Affairs abroad, muſt have made every Gentleman who heard it expect, that ſomething of this Nature might poſſibly come before you ſome Time this Seſſion. His Majeſty in that Speech told us, that the War which had begun in Europe ſtill continued; and tho' his Majeſty then declared that he had no Part, except by his good Offices, in thoſe Tranſactions, which had been declared to be the principal Cauſes and Motives of the War, yet, I believe, there was not a Gentleman in the Houſe but ſuppoſed, that his Majeſty might poſſibly be obliged to take a Share in the War, in order to prevent too much Power's being thrown into one Scale, whereby the Ballance of Power in Europe would be overturned, and conſequently every Gentleman muſt have expected ſuch a Meſſage as this, in caſe the Tranquillity of Europe could not by Way of Negotiation be reſtored before the End of this Seſſion.

'When Gentlemen expect, Sir, to hear Reaſons given why this Meſſage comes now, and was not brought ſooner, and ſeem to inſinuate, as if this muſt proceed from ſome ſudden and unforeſeen Change of Affairs, all

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I can anſwer is, that we are now in the ſame Situation we were in at the Opening of the Seſſion; ſome little Variation may perhaps have hapened, but our Circumſtances are in general the ſame, and their remaining ſo is, in my poor Opinion, a ſufficient Reaſon for his Majeſty's making this Application to his Parliament, and for our coming to ſuch a Reſolution as I ſhall by and by have the Honour to move to you. If any extraordinary Change had happened in the Affairs of Europe, or with reſpect to our own particular Circumſtances, during the Continuance of the Seſſion, his Majeſty could immediately, and without any Delay, have applied to his Parliament for what was proper to be done upon ſuch an Occaſion; but as the War ſtill continues, no Man can pretend to foreſee what Changes may ſoon happen, or how ſoon his Majeſty, in Conjunction with his Allies, may be obliged to give Aſſiſtance where the Intereſt of this Nation, and the Preſervation of the Liberties of Europe may call immediately for it: And as this Seſſion of Parliament is drawing towards a Cloſe, as this Parliament may probably be ſoon diſſolved, his Majeſty will not then have the Opportunity of applying immediately to his Parliament for what may appear to be neceſſary for the Defence of the Nation, in caſe any Change ſhould happen during the Interval of Parliament, which makes it abſolutely neceſſary to furniſh his Majeſty with ſuch Powers as are now aſked for, before this Seſſion break up; and the furniſhing him now with ſuch a Power, cannot be in the leaſt more inconvenient for the Nation than it would have been at the Beginning of the Seſſion.

'Ever ſince the Beginning of this Seſſion, his Majeſty, in Conjunction with other Powers, has been endeavouring by Negotiation to reconcile the jarring Intereſts of the ſeveral Powers now at War, and to reſtore the Tranquillity of Europe; if theſe Negotiations had ſucceeded, there would have been no Occaſion for this Meſſage, there would have been no Occaſion for putting this Nation to any additional Expence; and though theſe Negotiations have not yet had the deſired Effect, yet his Majeſty's Propoſals are not altogether rejected, which makes it ſtill unneceſſary to put the Nation to any immediate Expence: This ſhews his Majeſty's tender Care for his People, as well as the Wiſdom and Integrity of thoſe he is pleaſed to adviſe with upon ſuch Occaſions: It ſhews how unwilling he is to put the Nation to any extraordinary Expence, as long as it can poſſibly be avoided; but the great Concern his Majeſty has for the Peace and Quiet of his People, and the Uncertainty in which the Affairs of Europe ſtill continue,

tinue, lay his Majeſty under a Neceſſity of thus deſiring his Parliament to ſtrengthen his Hands in ſuch a Manner, as that he may be able to provide againſt any the moſt diſtant Dangers, with which this Nation may happen to be threatened, after the End of this, and before the Meeting of a new Parliament.

'If Gentlemen will but conſider the preſent Circumſtances of Europe in general, and of that Nation in particular, from the Situation of whoſe Country we muſt always have moſt to fear, I believe the Neceſſity of the Motion I am to make will pretty evidently appear. France has now a large Fleet aſſembled in one of thoſe Ports which lie neareſt to this Iſland: The Ships are all fitted out, and almoſt ready to put to Sea; and there are, as we are told, ſeveral thouſand Men ready to be ſhipt on board that Fleet. I believe, Sir, there is nothing deſigned againſt us; but when we know that a large Squadron of French Men of War, with an Army of ſix or eight thouſand Veteran Troops is to paſs through the Britiſh Channel, I ſhould think one in the Station in which I have the Honour ſo unworthily to ſerve the Crown, did his Duty but very ill, if upon ſuch an Occaſion he did not adviſe the taking of all neceſſary Care, for putting the Nation in a proper Poſture of Defence.

'I repeat it again, Sir, I do ſincerely believe that the Nation is in Safety, but I do not deſire that the Safety of the Nation ſhould entirely depend on my Belief; I have, I think, good Reaſon to believe, that the French Squadron is deſigned elſewhere; but if from new Counſels, from any Jealouſy groundleſly conceived, or any ſudden Change in their Meaſures, that Squadron ſhould come this Way, I muſt ſay, that in our preſent Situation I do not know what the Conſequence might be: and therefore I muſt think, that thoſe who have the Honour to adviſe the King, have done their Duty in adviſing him to make this Application to Parliament. Tho' we are not yet engaged in the War, though no Power in Europe has yet openly declared againſt us, yet the preſent Circumſtances of Europe are ſuch, the preſent Circumſtances of this Nation are ſuch, that, I believe, I might leave the Queſtion to reſt wholly upon them; and I am convinced that no Gentleman, who conſiders them impartially, can refuſe agreeing to what his Majeſty has, by his moſt gracious Meſſage, deſired.

'His Majeſty is not willing to alarm any foreign Power, by making an unneceſſary Augmentation of his Forces either by Sea or Land; but he deſires to have a Power at leaſt of providing againſt any unprovoked Inſults: He

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is reſolved not to put the Nation to any unneceſſary Expence; but he deſires not to diſoblige his Allies, he deſires not to give them a mean Opinion of this Nation, by our not putting our ſelves in ſuch a Condition as to be able to perform all our Engagements to them. This is all the Power his Majeſty asks for, and this Power, we may depend on it, will not be wantonly uſed, or uſed at all, unleſs the Neceſſity of our Affairs require it. From the whole of his Majeſty's paſt Conduct, from the Conduct of thoſe who have the Honour to adviſe him, we may expect, that a Backwardneſs, rather than a Forwardneſs, will be ſhewed in putting the Nation to any Expence, or engaging it in any unneceſſary Broils.

'His Majeſty, Sir, deſires only a Power of providing what may appear to be abſolutely neceſſary for the Defence of the Nation, during the Interval of Parliament, when he cannot have their Advice or Aſſiſtance; with this Aſſurance, that every Thing that ſhall be done in purſuance of that Power, ſhall be laid before next Parliament for their Approbation: to them, he promiſes, that a full Account ſhall be rendered of the Temporary Truſt repoſed in the Crown. What Danger then can there be in granting the Power now asked for? Can it be preſumed, that any Miniſter will dare to make, or adviſe his Majeſty to make a bad Uſe of it, when ſo ſtrict an Account muſt be rendered to next Parliament, of every Uſe that ſhall be made of it? Yet this is what Gentlemen have been pleaſed to call a ſurrendering the Rights, a delegating the Power of Parliament to the Crown, and laying the Ax to the Root of the Tree. They have likewiſe been pleaſed to inſinuate, as if it were the Servants of the Crown that deſired to have more Power granted to them. Sir, as I am one of the Servants of the Crown, I can anſwer for my ſelf, that I deſire no Power; I know the Danger too well of making uſe of any Power, but that which has the Sanction of Parliament; and whenever I am entruſted with any ſuch Power, I ſhall always be ready to account to Parliament for the Uſe I make of it.

'Tis true, Sir, the Powers now asked for may occaſion a further Expence to this Nation; but whatever Expence may, in purſuance of ſuch Powers, be incurred, does not his Majeſty, in the Meſſage now before us, promiſe that it ſhall be fully and particularly accounted for to next Parliament? And if any Part of that Expence ſhall appear to have been unneceſſarily incurred, may we not expect that the next Parliament will ſeverely puniſh thoſe who have been the Authors of ſuch unneceſſary Expence? There is nothing contained in the Meſſage, which can in the leaſt tend to excuſe thoſe who ſhall dare to give ſuch wicked

Counſel

Counſel to his Majeſty; and in the Motion I am to make, I ſhall endeavour to expreſs myſelf in ſuch a Manner as to obviate any Objection that can be made upon that Account. His Majeſty deſires only a Power to make ſuch further Augmentation of his Forces, either by Sea or Land, as may be abſolutely neceſſary for the Honour and Defence of his Kingdoms, and to concert ſuch Meaſures as the Exigency of Affairs may require; and when we ſee his Majeſty expreſſing himſelf ſo cautiouſly in the Meſſage he has been pleaſed to ſend us, can we ſuppoſe that any Miniſter will be hardy enough to adviſe him, or that he will allow himſelf to be adviſed to put the Nation to any Expence that ſhall not plainly appear to be abſolutely neceſſary? Anno 7 Geo. II. 1734.

'Now, Sir, let us ſee whether the Meſſage now before us, or the Powers that are thereby demanded, are ſo extraordinary or ſo unprecedented as ſome Gentlemen have been pleaſed to repreſent? Tho' I am no great Maſter of Precedents; tho' I never look into them but when I have immediate Occaſion for them, yet I have got three or four in my Hand, which I take to be exactly parallel to the Caſe now before us. In 1702, her late Majeſty Queen Anne ſent a Meſſage to this Houſe, acquainting them with the then Situation of Affairs abroad; and upon that Meſſage this Houſe, by an Addreſs, gave her Majeſty the ſame ſort of Powers as are now aſked for. In 1715, his late Majeſty ſent a Meſſage to this Houſe, acquainting them of the Danger the Nation was in from Inſurrections at home, and likewiſe from intended Invaſions from abroad, in favour of the Pretender; and the very ſame Powers now aſked for were granted by an Addreſs of this Houſe to his late Majeſty. In 1718, during the Spaniſh War, that Power was again renewed to his late Majeſty; and in 1725, the ſame Powers were again given to the Crown, both in the ſame Method: therefore it can't be ſaid, that what is now propos'd is either new or unprecedented. It is what has often been practiſed, and what muſt always be practiſed, when the Nation happens to be threatened with any Danger.

'I am afraid, Sir, I have already taken up too much of your Time, and therefore I ſhall now add no more; but if any material Objections be made to what I am to propoſe, I hope that the Houſe will again indulge me to make ſuch Anſwers to them as I may then think of, or that ſome other Gentleman, who may perhaps be of the ſame Opinion with me, and better able to anſwer ſuch Objections than I am, will riſe up and do it: Therefore I ſhall only beg Leave to make you the following Motion; That an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, To declare the

Duty

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Duty and Fidelity of this House to his Majesty, and the entire Confidence which they repose in his Royal Care and Endeavours, for the Security of his Kingdoms, and for restoring the Peace of Europe; to express the just Sense they have of his Majesty's Attention to the true Interest of his People, in previously taking the Advice and Concurrence of this House at this critical Conjuncture, in order to make the necessary Provisions against any Emergencies arising from the present Posture of Affairs in Europe, especially during the Interval of Parliament; to desire his Majesty, to make such Augmentation of his Forces by Sea and Land, as his Majesty in his great Wisdom shall judge necessary; and to concert such Measures, as the Exigency of Affairs shall require; this House not doubting, but that his Majesty will find, that his faithful Commons will at all Times, when the Accounts shall be laid before them of the extraordinary Expences incurred by his Majesty for the Honour, Interest and Defence of his Kingdoms, effectually enable his Majesty to answer and make good the same.'

To this Mr. Shippen replied:

SIR,

Mr. Shippen.

'I am glad to find that the Honourable Gentleman has now discovered a Meaning in his Majesty's Speech at the Opening of this Session, which he could not, it seems, discover the first Day of the Session: He was, or pretended, at least, to be so far from discovering at that Time any such Meaning in his Majesty's Speech as he has now shewn to us, that he seemed very much surprised any Gentleman should have the least Apprehensions of such a Meaning. I, as well as several Gentlemen round me, remember well the Gentleman's very Words upon that Occasion; I remember when I intimated then to the House my Fears, that some such thing as a Vote of Credit was intended, he said, he believed no Man alive but myself could dream of any such thing; but now we are told, that from his Majesty's Manner of expressing himself upon that Occasion, every Gentleman in the House must have expected a Demand of such a Nature as what is now before us: I did indeed, from what his Majesty said, expect a Demand for a Vote of Credit; but I little expected that that Demand would have been attended with such other extraordinary Demands as are contained in the Message now under consideration.

'As no sufficient Time has been given, Sir, for Gentlemen to consider of this extraordinary Demand from the Crown, and no Information has been given us by the Honourable Gentleman who spoke last, from whom I believe every Gentleman in this House expected a full Information, with respect to the Reasons

ſons the Crown may have for making ſuch a Demand; Gentlemen, like me, who are kept at a Diſtance from the Secrets of the Adminiſtration, have no way left to judge but according to what appears upon the Face of the Meſſage; and from thence I muſt judge, that the Demand now made upon us is entirely new, and very extraordinary. As I ſaid before, it is a Demand for a total Surrender of all the Rights of Parliament; for we are now, it ſeems, to give the King a Power of raiſing what Money he pleaſes; we are to give him a Power of raiſing what Military Force he pleaſes without Conſent of Parliament: Are not theſe the two Rights, upon which all the other Rights of Parliament depend? Is not the Controul we have over theſe two the only Handle by which we can, or dare vindicate any other Right that belongs to us? And after the Surrender of theſe two, can it be ſaid that we have any Right, or at leaſt, that we dare claim any Right, but ſuch as the Crown ſhall vouchſafe from Time to Time to allow us?

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'The Honourable Gentleman, Sir, by Way of Introduction to his Motion, was pleaſed to ſay a great deal in Juſtification of the Meſſage, and of the Powers thereby demanded; but I think the Subſtance of what he ſaid may be reduced to theſe three Heads, That it is neceſſary for us to grant thoſe Powers, That the granting of ſuch is neither new nor unprecedented, and That they may with Safety be granted to the Crown: Every one of which Propoſitions I muſt deny, and I think I have good Reaſon for ſo doing. The Gentleman indeed ſpoke to us Yeſterday of the Neceſſity of ſending ſuch a Meſſage, and I was in hopes he would have this Day endeavoured to have made that Neceſſity appear: But this is ſo far from being the Caſe, that, I think, he has rather ſhewn the contrary.

'Whether the Powers now aſked for be unprecedented or not, it is certain, Sir, they are extraordinary, and therefore ought never to be granted but when the Nation is in imminent Danger, or in Caſes of the utmoſt Extremity: and for this Reaſon I did expect we were to have been told this Day, that the Nation was immediately to be invaded by ſome foreign Power, or that ſome dangerous Plot had been diſcovered; and I expected this the more, becauſe the ſhort Time that was aſked for taking this Affair into our Conſideration was refuſed. However, now I find it is quite otherwiſe, the Gentleman himſelf ſays, he believes the Nation to be in Safety, but does not deſire its Safety ſhould depend on his Belief. In this, Sir, I agree with him, I really do not deſire, that the Safety of the Nation ſhould depend upon his Belief; and I believe it would be happy for us if it did not depend upon his Adminiſtration. Tho' at firſt he ſeemed willing to terrify us with the French Squadron, yet

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at last he told us he believed it was designed elsewhere, but new Counsels, groundless Jealousies, sudden Changes might bring them this Way. For God's sake, Sir, are Gentlemen serious when they talk at this Rate? Are we to come into such extraordinary Measures, are we to vest an absolute Power in the Crown, because from new Counsels, from sudden Changes, the Nation may be in Danger? If this be a Necessity for our agreeing to what is now proposed, will not the same Necessity always prevail? Are we not in as great Danger from new Counsels and sudden Changes, when our Neighbours are all at Peace, as when they are all engaged in a bloody War, and courting us either for our Assistance or for a Neutrality? Nay, for this Reason, I think we are now in greater Security than we can ever propose to be in Time of the most profound Tranquillity; and therefore if we now agree to grant such Powers, and in so extraordinary a Method too, I shall expect to see them demanded from us every Session of Parliament for the future: I shall never expect to see them refused.

'I say, Sir, in such an extraordinary Method too; for suppose it could be alledged we should probably be exposed to some great Danger, in a Month, or six Weeks hence, which might make it necessary to grant such Powers to the Crown; yet that would be no Reason for doing it in such an extraordinary Manner: We would, in such a Case, have Time to do it in a regular Parliamentary Way, and wherever that can be done, it ought, without Doubt, to be done. There can be no Reason, there can be no Excuse for thus leaping over all the Forms and Methods of Proceeding in Parliament, but when the Danger is so near at Hand, that the providing against it cannot admit of such Delays. The Honourable Gentleman says, our Circumstances are much the same now they were at the Beginning of the Session; therefore if we are now in Danger, we were then in the same Danger. Why then were we not made acquainted with it at that Time? If we had, we could have provided against it in a regular Manner. But suppose that we had then done it in this irregular Manner, does the Gentleman think, as he pretends, that there is no greater Inconvenience in lodging an unlimited Power in the Hands of the Crown at the Beginning of a Session than at the End of it, or perhaps at the End of a Parliament? The contrary is evident; while the Parliament continues sitting after such a Power granted, they will nevertheless, be a Check upon the Use of that Power; they may recall it before it be too late; but when an expiring Session, much more an expiring Parliament, grants such a Power, it may, before the next Session, or the next Parliament is allowed to meet, be extended beyond Controul.

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'The Honourable Gentleman told us, Sir, that there have been Negotiations on foot, that there are Negotiations on foot; 'tis true, they have not, he ſays, yet had the deſired Succeſs, but neither have they been rejected: That his Majeſty is willing to wait the Reſult of theſe Negotiations, being reſolved to delay putting his People to any Expence, as long as it can be avoided. Upon this he applauded his Majeſty's tender Care for his Subjects, and took care to aſſume great Merit to himſelf in adviſing this Delay. Let us ſuppoſe, Sir, this Parliament diſſolved; ſuppoſe theſe Negotiations actually rejected; ſurely we cannot ſuppoſe any Power in Europe ſo mad, or ſo unjuſt as to attack his Majeſty for endeavouring to reconcile the Differences between them and their Enemies; and it is impoſſible to ſuppoſe that the Affairs of Europe can upon the rejecting of ſuch Negotiations take ſuch a ſudden Turn, as may inevitably oblige his Majeſty to declare of one Side or the other, before it be poſſible for the new Parliament to meet: This, I ſay, is impoſſible to ſuppoſe; and it is as impoſſible to ſuppoſe that any of the Powers now engaged in War will attempt to invade or inſult this Nation, till his Majeſty has openly declared againſt them. The Gentleman ſays, that his Majeſty has all along endeavoured not to give any juſt Cauſe of Alarm to any foreign Power, nor to diſoblige any Ally: I am afraid if we diſoblige any Power in Europe, we muſt diſoblige an Ally. However, as his Majeſty has, during the Seſſion of Parliament, been ſo cautious, it is not to be doubted but that he will continue to be as cautious, during the Interval of Parliament: So that upon the Whole, I muſt think, that every Thing the honourable Gentleman ſaid tended to prove, that we are not at preſent under the leaſt Neceſſity of granting the Powers demanded.

'Now, Sir, give me Leave to examine the Precedents the honourable Gentleman was pleaſed to mention, and which he ſaid were exactly parallel to the Caſe in hand. I do not know, indeed, but from the four Caſes he mentioned taken jointly we may make up ſome ſort of Precedent for the preſent; but I am very ſure that no one of them, taken ſeparately, is any way parallel to the preſent. As to that in 1702, it is quite different from this, both as to the Manner of ſending it, as to the Time of its being ſent, and as to the Powers that were either aſked or given: As to the Manner of ſending it, it appears, that that great and good Princeſs Queen Anne, in the very Meſſage which ſhe ſent, acquainted the Houſe, that ſhe had commanded the ſeveral Letters and Repreſentations paſſed between her and the States General, upon the ſubject Matter of the Meſſage, to be therewith tranſmitted to the Houſe. So far was ſhe

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from deſiring her Parliament to grant, only becauſe ſhe thought fit to aſk; that on the contrary ſhe laid the Whole of her foreign Tranſactions before them, and thereby made them Judges of what ought to be done upon that Emergency: and I muſt ſay, Sir, it would be no Diſcredit for the beſt and wiſeſt of her Succeſſors to imitate her royal Example in this, as well as in moſt of the other Meaſures of her glorious Reign.

'Then, as to the Time of ſending that Meſſage, we were then actually engaged in the War, and one of our Allies was in the moſt imminent Danger of being ſwallowed up by our moſt inveterate Enemy; an Enemy, who but a little before had put the greateſt Affront upon this Nation, by ſetting up a Pretender, and acknowledging him in the moſt publick Manner as the only rightful King of theſe Realms. It was not then ſaid, that we or our Allies might, from new Counſels, and ſudden Changes, be in Danger. It was ſaid, it was not only ſaid, but ſhewn to the Houſe in the moſt authentick Manner, that one of our Allies was actually then in imminent Danger. And further, Sir, that Meſſage was not ſent to the Houſe at the End of a Seſſion, and after moſt of the Members were gone to the Country; it was ſent in the very Middle of the Seſſion, and at a Time when it muſt be ſuppoſed that the Houſe was full.

'But as to the Powers then demanded or granted, I am ſurpriſed to hear it ſaid, that that Caſe is parallel to the preſent. Sir, her Majeſty aſked no Powers; ſhe only told, and ſhewed the Houſe, what her Allies deſired and prayed; but ſhe did not pretend by her Meſſage to direct the Houſe what they were to do; ſhe did not deſire them to do any Thing, but only ſaid, ſhe doubted not but they would take ſuch Meaſures upon that Occaſion, as might be moſt for the Honour and Advantage of her Majeſty, the Safety of her Kingdoms, and the neceſſary Support of her Allies: And in conſequence of this what was done? This Houſe was very far from granting to her Majeſty a Power of augmenting her Forces both by Sea and Land, as much as ſhe pleaſed; a Power of raiſing and keeping up in this Nation as numerous an Army as ſhe pleaſed; a Power of running this Nation in Debt as much as ſhe pleaſed; a Power of entering into, and concluding whatever Negotiations or Treaties ſhe ſhould think proper. No, Sir, they only told her, that, if her Majeſty ſhould think it neceſſary to enter into any further Negotiations for encreaſing the Forces which were to act in Conjunction with the Forces of the States-General, that Houſe would enable her Majeſty to make good the ſame: And even to this ſo particular, this ſo much limited Grant, they added this expreſs Condition,

that

that England ſhould not be charged with the Pay of ſuch additional Troops, but from the Day when a Stop ſhould be made by the States-General to all Correſpondence, Trade, and Commerce with France and Spain. But this Condition, Sir, was never performed; the additional Troops were taken into our Pay, but no ſuch Stop was ever made by the States-General: which ſhews how little we ought to depend upon the Conditions annexed to, or implied in any Grant we make, or in any Power we give. Anno 7 Geo. II. 1734.

'As to the Meſſage ſent to this Houſe in the Years 1715 and 1718, they are very far from being Precedents for the preſent. At the Time of the firſt, there was an Inſurrection in a manner actually broke out, and an Invaſion expected; the Nation was then in imminent Danger, the Government was expoſed to the Danger of being immediately overturned. This the King, in his Meſſage, acquainted the Houſe of; and this was the Reaſon for their coming to the Reſolution they then did: But even in that Time of imminent Danger, this Houſe neither was deſired, nor did they condeſcend to grant to his late Majeſty ſuch extenſive Powers, as are now demanded and propoſed to be granted: They deſired his Majeſty, indeed, to augment his Forces both by Sea and Land; which, conſidering the ſmall Number of regular Forces we had then in the Kingdom, was much more reaſonable, than the ſame Power can now appear to be, even ſuppoſe we were threatened with the like Danger; but 'twas not then ſo much as deſired, that the Houſe ſhould before-hand approve of all the Negotiations and Treaties, which his Majeſty, or rather his Miniſters, ſhould think proper to enter into, or to conclude; and the Power then granted to his Majeſty was the leſs dangerous, becauſe neither the Parliament, nor the Seſſion of Parliament, was then drawing towards a Cloſe; but on the contrary, his late Majeſty was ſo good as to continue the ſame Seſſion of Parliament, till the Danger the Nation was threatened with was entirely over: ſo that the Parliament had at any Time an Opportunity, and certainly would have put a Check to the Miniſters of State, if they, or any of them, had attempted to have made a wrong Uſe of that Power which the Parliament had granted to his Majeſty. The Powers granted in 1718, were granted for the ſame Cauſe. His Majeſty, in his Speech, acquainted his Parliament, that the Nation was in danger of being invaded by a foreign Power; and it actually would have been invaded, if the Spaniſh Fleet had not met with a Diſaſter at Sea; ſo that neither of theſe Caſes can be any way conſidered as parallel to the preſent.

'Tis

Anno 7 Geo. II. 1734.

'Tis true, Sir, the other Precedent, quoted by the honourable Gentleman, may be looked on as ſome way parallel to the preſent: We were then in a ſort of State which I cannot give a Name to; it was neither a Time of War, nor a Time of Peace; but I do not remember it was ſo much as pretended, that the Nation was threatened with imminent Danger; yet we then did ſomewhat like what we are now deſired to do: we granted away Millions, for aught we knew, in the Dark, without any Cauſe or Reaſon aſſigned. But I muſt obſerve, Sir, that that Meſſage happened ſince the honourable Gentleman's Return to Power, and therefore may be ſuppoſed to have been adviſed by the ſame Perſons, and to have proceeded from the ſame Councils with the preſent; yet they were a little more modeſt at that Time. It could not be then properly ſaid, that the Nation was in a State of abſolute Tranquillity; yet nevertheleſs the honourable Gentleman was ſo modeſt, as to ask only for a Power to make an Addition to the Number of Seamen, and to negotiate and make Treaties; he did not ſo much as ask for a Power to raiſe, and keep up in this Nation, in a Time of Peace, whatever Number of Land-Forces he might pretend to think neceſſary. Thus we ſee the honourable Gentleman improves upon his laſt Precedent; and it is natural to ſuppoſe he will likewiſe improve upon this: therefore, if all the Powers now asked for, be granted, as I do not know any other Power his Majeſty can want from his Parliament, but that of making Laws, I ſhall expect that, beſides the Powers now asked for, there will be, in the next Meſſage from the Crown, a Demand for impowering his Majeſty to make or repeal, continue or ſuſpend, alter, explain, or amend ſuch Laws, and in ſuch manner, as he ſhall think abſolutely neceſſary for the Safety of the Nation. This, I ſay, is the only further Grant that is neceſſary for us to make, in order to eſtabliſh, by a Reſolution of both Houſes, the abſolute Power of the Crown; and with reſpect to the Liberties of the Nation, I think it is much the ſame, whether we grant this Power to the Crown, or put the Crown in a Capacity of aſſuming it whenever they have a mind, which will certainly be the Conſequence of the Reſolution now propoſed.

'This, Sir, naturally leads me to the other Doctrine, which the honourable Gentleman has endeavoured to eſtabliſh; that we may with Safety grant to the Crown, the Powers now asked for. As to his preſent Majeſty, Sir, he is a Prince of ſo much Goodneſs and Wiſdom, and is endowed with ſo many noble and princely Qualifications, that we may ſafely not only truſt him with the Powers now demanded,

manded, but we may ſurrender, and lay down the whole of our Rights and Liberties at the Foot of the Throne; but as this would be a moſt dangerous Precedent, and might be made a moſt wicked Uſe of in Times to come: The ſame Wiſdom and Generoſity, which makes it ſafe for us to put ſo much Truſt in his preſent Majeſty, would render Perſons capable of ſo much mean and low Complaiſance, moſt deſpicable in his Majeſty's Eyes. He might juſtly ſay of us, what the Roman Emperor ſaid of that Senate, which was ſo complaiſant as to refuſe nothing he aſked; *O Homines ſervire paratos!* And his Majeſty would have as much Reaſon to be quite tired with our fawning Complaiſance, as that Emperor is by the Hiſtorian repreſented to have been with the fawning Complaiſance of the Roman Senate. We all know, Sir, how difficult it is to refuſe to the King upon the Throne thoſe Favours or Powers which have been granted to his Predeceſſor; and therefore it has always been the eſtabliſhed Maxim of every honeſt Man, who had a Seat in either Houſe of Parliament, not to grant to a good King thoſe Powers, which a bad King might make an ill Uſe of; and ſurely, if a bad King were truſted with a Power of raiſing Land-Forces at Diſcretion, he might eaſily turn it to the utter Subverſion of all the Liberties and Privileges of the People of this Kingdom.

Anno 7 Geo. II. 1734.

'But with reſpect to the Powers now aſked, our Safety is, it ſeems, to be ſecured by this; that a particular Account is to be rendered to next Parliament of whatever may be done, and of all the additional Expence that may be incurred, in purſuance of theſe Powers. Sir, I have been ſo often deceived by Miniſteral Promiſes, and Expereince has ſo fully convinced me, that we are never to expect any ſuch Account in a fair and regular Manner, that I have no Faith in, nor Dependance upon ſuch Promiſes: Both I and other Gentlemen have often called for ſuch Accounts, but we have always been told, that either Matters were not ripe for laying ſuch Accounts before Parliament, or that the Secrets of the Government were not to be revealed; and the higheſt Satisfaction we could ever get upon ſuch Occaſions was to be told, that the Expences had been neceſſarily incurred on account of foreign and ſecret Services: It has always been pretended there was a Neceſſity for ſuch Expence, but the Parliament was never to be let into the Secret from whence that Neceſſity aroſe; we are always, it ſeems, to believe ſo, upon the bare Word of our honeſt and wiſe Miniſters; and I am very apt to believe that the ſame Confidence and Reſignation will be required from the next Parliament.

'The

Anno 7 Geo. II. 1734.

'The Gentleman ſaid, he might leave the Queſtion to reſt wholly upon our preſent Circumſtances: It may be ſo, Sir, but I wiſh he had told us what theſe Circumſtances are. He ſaid they were the ſame they were at the Beginning of the Seſſions; not altogether the ſame; they were the ſame in general, but by Time, and Variations in foreign Councils, an Alteration might be made in them. I muſt ſay, Sir, the Houſe is very much obliged to the Hon. Gentleman for giving us ſo much Satisfaction; and from this Intelligence we ſhall certainly be able to give our Friends in the Country a moſt ſatisfactory Account, and a moſt convincing Reaſon for what we have done. 'Tis true, they have been made believe that they are to pay but two Shillings in the Pound Land-Tax, but we can tell them that the Hon. Gentleman gave us ſo particular an Account of our Circumſtances, and of the Danger the Nation was expoſed to, that we thought proper to leave it to his Diſcretion, whether the Nation ſhould be charged with ſix Shillings, or perhaps with nineteen Shillings in the Pound Land-Tax; and by his paſt Conduct the Nation is ſo fully convinced of his Wiſdom and Sincerity, that they will certainly approve of what we have done.

'Sir, I have troubled you too long; I think I have ſhewn that the Reſolution propoſed is neither neceſſary, nor ſafe, nor founded upon any Precedent: But quoting of Precedents ſignifies nothing; ſuppoſe there were Precedents exactly parallel to the preſent Caſe, it would be no Argument for our agreeing to what is propoſed. There are but too many Precedents which reſemble it a little; it is now high Time to put a Stop to the Practice, and I am ſure it will be much more for our Honour to make a Precedent where ſuch a Demand has been refuſed, otherwiſe the Thing may come to be familiar: It may become an uſual Cuſtom to veſt the Crown with ſuch a Power at the End of every Parliament; ſo that all our ſucceeding Parliaments may come to be choſen under the Influence of abſolute Power, and neither the Hon. Gentleman, nor any of his Succeſſors in Office, needs deſire to do any Thing without the previous Sanction of Parliament; for it is not to be ſuppoſed that a Parliament choſen under the Influence of arbitrary Power, will ever refuſe their Sanction, when the Miniſter for the Time being pleaſes to demand it; in which Caſe, I believe, every Gentleman will agree with me, that the Parliament will be altogether uſeleſs, it will ſerve for nothing but to make our Miniſters the more daring, and the Oppreſſions of the

the People the more grievous; and therefore, Sir, I am against the Queſtion. Anno 7 Geo. II. 1734.

Then the Hon. Mr. Digby ſpoke as follows:

SIR,

'The Hon. Gentleman who opened this Debate has, in my Opinion, made as artful a Speech in favour of arbitrary Power as ever I heard made any where, and has ſaid a great deal more in favour of ſuch a Government than ever I expected to have heard within theſe Walls. I will not eaſily admit, Sir, that we are ever to truſt the Crown with ſuch extenſive Powers as are now demanded; but ſurely if we are ever to do any Thing like it, if we are ever to veſt in the Crown any extraordinary and unuſual Powers, it ought to be in a Caſe of the extremeſt Neceſſity, and even then we ought to do it in the moſt deliberate Way that the Circumſtances of the Caſe can admit of, and not till after the Caſe has been fully explained, and the Neceſſity made clearly to appear to us. Had we been informed of our Danger in the Beginning of the Seſſion, what is now propoſed might have been done; but then it might have been done in a regular Way, and might have paſſed through all the Forms of Parliament; by which Means the other Houſe might have had an Opportunity of putting a Negative upon it, which they ought to have by our Conſtitution; and every Gentleman of either Houſe of Parliament might have had an Opportunity of examining into the Merits of the Queſtion, and of giving his Opinion upon it; whereas now we are in a thin Houſe, and without any Concurrence of the other Houſe, to give up by a ſingle Vote all the Rights of Parliament, and, for aught we know, to put an end to all Parliaments. Hon. Mr. Digby.

'The Hon. Gentleman has told us, that during the former Part of the Seſſion of Parliament his Majeſty did not make this Application, becauſe the Danger had not become ſo great as to make it neceſſary for us to put ourſelves to any immediate additional Expence, but that after the Seſſion is broke up, or this Parliament diſſolved, ſome Change may happen which will make ſuch Expence neceſſary; and as his Majeſty cannot then have an Opportunity of applying to his Parliament, therefore it is neceſſary to furniſh him with ſuch Powers as are now demanded. Sir, I would be glad to know from that Gentleman, or any other, what Neceſſity there is for this Seſſion's breaking up ſo ſoon; or if there is any Neceſſity for diſſolving this Parliament in a few Days? Our Time does not expire till October next; and however neceſſary

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our Preſence may be in the Country, if the Nation be in any Danger, if there be any reaſon to ſuſpect, that the Nation may ſoon be in Danger, I am ſure every Gentleman will think it his Duty to remain in Town, or to return to Town, in order to attend the Service of his Country in Parliament. If we have now really any Thing to fear from the French Squadron, and that I think is the only Danger I have heard ſo much as inſinuated, all Apprehenſions from that Squadron muſt be over long before that Time; nay, I do not know but if the few Days that were aſked Yeſterday for taking this Meſſage into our Conſideration, had been granted, the Danger from that Squadron might have been over before we had come to conſider of that Danger, or how to provide againſt it; and this perhaps was the chief Motive for refuſing ſo ſhort and ſo reaſonable a Delay: for if that Squadron had been ſailed elſewhere, the Gentlemen would have been ſtript of the only Argument I have heard them make uſe of for perſuading us, or rather for terrifying us, into the granting of an abſolute Power to the Crown.

'The Hon. Gentleman told us, that his Majeſty deſired not to give our Allies a mean Opinion of this Nation, by our neglecting to put ourſelves in a Condition of making good all our Engagements to them. Sir, I do not know what Engagements we may lie under, or who are our preſent Allies; for I think all the Powers of Europe have lately been our Allies in their Turns: but for this very Reaſon, Sir, I am againſt what is now propoſed. I am for giving our Allies, whoever they may be, a good Opinion, not only of this Nation, but of his Majeſty's Government, and therefore whatever may be neceſſary to be done for putting ourſelves in a Condition to make good our Engagements, I am for its being done in a full Houſe, and in a regular parliamentary Method. Can any Gentleman imagine that our Allies, eſpecially the Dutch, if they be our Allies, are ignorant of our Conſtitution? No, Sir, they are perfectly acquainted with it; and therefore if we ſhould grant ſuch Powers as are now demanded, or make any other Sort of Proviſion, in a full Houſe, and in the regular parliamentary Method, we cannot doubt of its having greater Weight with our Allies, than a Reſolution or Vote thus obtained by Surpriſe at the End of the Seſſion, and after moſt of the Gentlemen are retired to the Country. Such a Method of obtaining the Approbation of Parliament muſt neceſſarily give them a mean Opinion at leaſt of our Government, and muſt contribute to the rendering his Majeſty's Endeavours for reſtoring the Peace of Europe of little or no Effect.

'Beſides,

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'Beſides, Sir, by the Propoſition now made to us we are really going to do what our Allies know we cannot do: We are not only going to delegate the Power of Parliament to the Crown, but we are going to promiſe that a future Parliament ſhall approve of whatever my be done in purſuance of that Power ſo delegated to tha Crown. Does not every one of our Allies know that eno Parliament can make ſuch a Promiſe? Does not every Man know that no Parliament has a Right to ſurrender the Liberties of the People, or to delegate the Power of Parliament to the Crown? And can we imagine that any Potentate in Europe will have any great Dependance upon the Powers or Promiſes which are granted by thoſe who had no Right to grant any ſuch? But ſuppoſe we had a Right to grant the Powers now aſked for, that Right is certainly never to be made uſe of but when the Nation is in the moſt imminent Danger; and as I can ſee no Pretence for ſaying the Nation is now, or is like to be, in any ſuch Danger, nor have heard any other Reaſon for aſking the Powers now propoſed to be given, I muſt ſuſpect that they are aſked for Purpoſes that cannot be openly avowed, and therefore I ſhall give my Negative to the Queſtion.

Mr. Gibbon ſpoke next againſt the Motion, who was anſwered by Mr. Henry Pelham, to whom Mr. Palmer replied; then Mr. Horatio Walpole ſpoke as follows.

SIR,

Mr. Horatio Walpole.

'Gentlemen have been at a good deal of pains to make out a Difference between the Precedents that have been mentioned and the Caſe before us; tho' I think with very little Succeſs: There never was yet a Precedent for any Propoſition or Determination ſo exactly parallel to the Caſe in Hand, but ingenious Gentlemen might find out ſome minute Differences; yet Precedents, where no Material Difference could be ſhown, have always been allowed to be good Authorities for what was propoſed to be done; and in the preſent Caſe I do not find that with all their Ingenuity they have been able to ſhew any material Difference between the Precedents mentioned and the Propoſition now made to us. The two material Points now under our Conſideration with reſpect to Precedents are, Whether it has not been the Practice of Parliament to grant extraordinary Powers to the Crown in the Time of Danger? And in what Method thoſe Powers have been granted? Theſe, I ſay, are the two chief Points, and as to both of them every one of the Precedents mentioned appears to be as exactly parallel as any one Caſe can be to another.

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'But, Sir, I will endeavour to point out to the Honourable Gentlemen one very material Difference between the Meſſage now before us, and all the other Meſſages that have formerly come from the Crown, and it is this; in the preſent Meſſage his Majeſty expreſſly promiſes to lay a full Account of whatever Expences may be incurred before the next Parliament, which is a Piece of Condeſcenſion that was never made by the Crown in any former Meſſage ſent to Parliament: This is indeed a material Difference, but ſuch a Difference as, in my Opinion, ought certainly to be a prevailing Argument for us to agree to what is now demanded. And as to the Meſſage in the Year 1702, I muſt upon this Occaſion obſerve, that if a greater Confidence had been placed in her Majeſty, and her then Miniſters, and ſtronger Reſolutions made by that Parliament, it is more than probable that the War which enſued might have been entirely prevented, or at leaſt that the Enemies of this Nation would have been obliged to have entered into the War under much greater Diſadvantages than they did: ſo that the ſlow and lukewarm Proceedings of that Parliament, and the fatal Effects they produced, is one of the ſtrongeſt Arguments, that can be ſuggeſted, for us now to ſtrengthen his Majeſty's Hands in ſuch a Manner as may prevent any ſuch fatal Conſequences.

'It is ſurpriſing to me to hear Gentlemen complain that nothing has been laid before them, to ſhew the Neceſſity for granting the Powers now aſked for. Did not his Majeſty in his Speech at the opening of the Seſſion inform us of the War then began in Europe? Does not he by the preſent Meſſage acquaint us that this War ſtill continues? And is not every Gentleman convinced by what he knows of the Situation of Europe, that the Ballance of Power in Europe entirely depends on the Event of that War? Let which-ever Side prevail, if it ſhould be allowed to prevail too far, would not the Ballance of Power be thereby overturned, and will not this Nation neceſſarily be obliged to prevent ſo fatal an Effect? Beſides this, does not every Gentleman know that the French have lately fitted out a very powerful Sea-Armament, which if not deſigned againſt this Country, can be deſigned againſt but one other Place in the World? I indeed believe that it is deſigned againſt Dantzick; but if that Affair ſhould blow over, which is poſſible, before the French Fleet ſails, can we then be eaſy, can we imagine ourſelves in Security, while ſo large a Squadron, with an Army ready to be put on board, lies within a few Hours ſailing of our Coaſt?

'The Honourable Gentleman by me very well obſerv'd what has been done by the Dutch; they had reſolved to reduce

reduce 10,000 of their Land-Forces, but upon the Breaking out of the War, they had put off that Reſolution: They are our natural Ally, they have hitherto gone hand in hand with us, but we know in what a weak and defenceleſs Condition their Barrier in Flanders is at preſent, and if we ſhould ſit ſtill and do nothing, is it to be expected that they will go on in the ſame Way? No, Sir, they will be obliged to throw themſelves entirely into the Arms of France, and muſt depend upon the Honour of that Crown for the Preſervation of their Barrier in Flanders.

'Gentlemen may, Sir, if they pleaſe, call this a Vote of Credit; but as his Majeſty has ſo expreſly promiſed an Account, it cannot properly be called a Vote of Credit. It is in my Opinion, only a Vote of Confidence; it is only coming to a Reſolution; which, by ſhewing the entire Confidence we have in his Majeſty, will give his Inſtances with foreign Powers the greater Weight; and conſequently is abſolutely neceſſary for the Preſervation of the Ballance of Power in Europe; without which, this Nation can never be in any Safety or Security.'

Mr. Tuffnell back'd Mr. Walpole, and was anſwered by Lord Tyrconnel. Then Sir William Wyndham ſtood up, and ſaid:

SIR,

Sir William Wyndham.

'As I find myſelf at preſent very much out of Order, I am very unfit to offer my Opinion on ſo important a Queſtion: However, I muſt beg Leave to trouble you a little upon this Occaſion; becauſe, if what is now propoſed ſhould be agreed to, I do not know but it may be the laſt Time I ſhall ever have an Opportunity of delivering my Opinion as a Member of this Houſe. With me, Sir, it is a Matter of no Conſequence, whether the Propoſition now made to us, be founded on Precedents or not; for if any thing like what is propoſed, has been done, I am of Opinion, that as often as it has been done, it has been wrong done; and the oftner it is done, it will be ſtill worſe. But to tell us, that the only two Points, now under our Conſideration is, whether extraordinary Powers have, upon any Occaſion, been granted to the Crown, and in what Method theſe Powers have been granted, is very extraordinary: For, ſuppoſing it right to grant extraordinary Powers, by an extraordinary Method, upon ſome Occaſions, certainly we are, upon all ſuch Occaſions, to conſider the Reaſons for granting ſuch Powers, and the Nature of the Powers to be granted; and if, upon the preſent Occaſion, the Powers propoſed to be granted, are much more extenſive, than thoſe formerly granted, and the Reaſons for granting

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granting them not near ſo ſtrong as upon former Occaſions, no former Precedent can give any Authority for doing what is now propoſed. We are told of the Naval Armaments of France; but I would gladly know what we have done to deſerve any Inſult from that Nation. If contributing to throw the Affairs of Europe into their preſent Situation, by which the Houſe of Bourbon has been again put into a Condition of pulling down the overgrown Power of the Houſe of Auſtria, which ſo greatly alarmed us ſome Years ago; if this, I ſay, deſerves any Inſult from France, I do not know but we may deſerve it. But if this were true, while we have an Army of 18,000 Men in this Kingdom, and 12,000 in Ireland, all ready at our Call, and a more powerful Fleet than any the French can put to Sea, what have we to fear from five or ſix thouſand French, if they were actually landed in the Iſland? Sir, if we had not a Regiment in the Kingdom, we could not have any Thing to fear from ſo inconſiderable a Number. And, can we ſuppoſe the French ſuch Fools as to make ſo ridiculous an Attempt, by which they muſt expect to draw the immediate Vengeance of this Nation upon them? When our Armies, or our Fleets, are to be augmented; when we are to enter into expenſive Negotiations; or when we are deſired to put extraordinary Powers into the Hands of the Government, for Purpoſes not to be told, I have often obſerved, Sir, that ſome Gentlemen are, upon ſuch Occaſions, mighty apt to raiſe Phantoms, and to magnify imaginary Dangers; from whence they argue for the Neceſſity of providing againſt them, as if they were real: we are then to be afraid of Invaſions and Inſults from almoſt every Power in Europe. But when upon other Occaſions they are told what is too true, that the Nation is in a moſt dangerous and diſtreſſed Condition, they then inſiſt upon it, that we are in the moſt happy Situation, that our Trade is in a flouriſhing State, and that we are in Friendſhip with, or at leaſt have no Diffidence of any foreign Power whatſoever. But now it ſeems, Sir, we muſt grant more extenſive Powers to the Crown, than were ever granted by any Parliament, tho' it cannot be ſo much as pretended, that we are in any immediate Danger; for even thoſe Gentlemen who talk of the Neceſſity of granting ſuch Powers, tell us, we are in the ſame Circumſtances we were in at the Beginning of the Seſſion; but not what thoſe Circumſtances are: for this, we muſt depend upon the Aſſertion of an honourable Gentleman; and even he has told us, that he does not believe we are in any Danger, but does not deſire the Safety of the Nation to depend on his Belief. God forbid, Sir, it ſhould; but if we thus, upon his bare Word, give up all the Rights

of

of Parliament, and in ſome meaſure deſtroy the Neceſſity of holding any Parliament for the future, I muſt ſay, that we ſhall, from that Moment, leave the Safety of the Nation, and the Preſervation of our Conſtitution, to depend very much upon his Management. This is what I ſhall never agree to; it is what, I hope, no Parliament will ever agree to; and therefore, if we are in any Danger, or if we are like to be in any Danger, let us know our Danger from ſomething elſe than his bare Aſſertion; and then I doubt not but the Wiſdom of Parliament will provide effectually againſt it. Anno 7 Geo. II. 1734.

'We are ſeldom indeed told much, we are never told Things but by Halves; but if what we are told be true, if his Majeſty has hitherto taken no Share in the War, we cannot be in any immediate Danger. However, tho' his Majeſty, as King of Great Britain, may not have taken any Share in the War, yet he certainly has, as Elector of Hanover: and as this Nation has, by ſome Fatality or another, been generally engaged in the ſame Quarrel which our King, as Elector of Hanover, eſpouſed, if the ſame Thing ſhould again happen, this Nation may then indeed come to be threatened with ſome Danger or Inſult; but in ſuch a Caſe it is not neceſſary for us to provide againſt ſuch a diſtant, and ſuch a conditional Danger, in the extraordinary Method now propoſed: Why may we not ſit for a few Months longer, and do in a regular Parliamentary Way whatever may ſeem neceſſary on that Occaſion? When we are all together, we make of ourſelves a pretty good Battalion; it cannot be ſaid but that we are well officer'd, and a little Time might probably bring us to turn to Right and Left, and to perform all the other Parts of Exerciſe by Beat of Drum: but this, Sir, is a ſerious Subject, and therefore I aſk Pardon.

'We have been told, Sir, that all that is now aſked is only to put a Confidence in his Majeſty. No, Sir, it is to put a Confidence in his Miniſters, and in them I have none; no not even tho' the Honourable Perſon on the Floor has aſſured us, that no wanton or bad Uſe ſhall be made of it: for if we once grant the Power, we cannot tell how it may be uſed, nor can we be aſſured that any future Parliament will have it in their Power to call thoſe to an Account, who may make a wrong or a wicked Uſe of it: We are not to expect Sylla's in every Age; abſolute Power is a bewitching Poſſeſſion, and ſeldom voluntarily reſigned. The ſame honourable Perſon aſked us, if the paſt Conduct of the Adminiſtration did not promiſe rather a Backwardneſs than Forwardneſs in making uſe of this Power? I muſt confeſs, Sir, that a Backwardneſs has been ſhewn by them in

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Caſes where it was very wrong to ſhew any ſuch Thing. When repeated Inſults have been offered to the Nation; when our Merchants have been pillaged, and our Sailors murdered, and that for Years together, they have ſhewed a mean and diſhonourable Backwardneſs, and therefore I think we have good Reaſon to ſuſpect that the ſame Imprudence may make them unwiſely raſh, and unſeaſonably forward in engaging in Diſputes where the Intereſt of the Nation may call upon them to be at leaſt neutral. As all the principal Powers of Europe are now engaged in a bloody War againſt one another, and as we have not yet taken any Share in that War, the preſent Circumſtances of Europe are to me a moſt evident Proof, that we neither are nor can be in any Danger as long as we continue in the ſame Situation; and as we have no contrary Evidence, but what appears upon the general Miniſterial Meſſage, now under our Conſideration, I do not ſee how we can poſſibly form a Pretence for agreeing to what is now aſked of us: We ought and I hope we always will ſhew as great a Deference to the Crown as becometh the free-born Subjects of Britain; but conſidering how often the Crown has, upon former Occaſions been induced to aſſert for Truth what Time, the Diſcoverer of Secrets has made appear not to be true; conſidering, that we are to look upon this, as well as other ſuch Meſſages, as proceeding from the Advice and Suggeſtion of Miniſters: and when we reflect upon former Aſſertions which came to Parliament, by the Advice and on the Suggeſtion of the ſame Perſons, we cannot be juſtified in delegating ſo great a Power upon ſo ſlight an Evidence, an Evidence which Time may hereafter, as it has before done, ſhew to be entirely falſe. I could have added a great deal more upon this Subject, but I find myſelf ſo bad, Sir, I can proceed no further; only ſhall take this Opportunity, this laſt Opportunity, I'm afraid, of declaring my Attachment to the Liberties and Conſtitution of my Country, by declaring my Averſion to the Propoſition now before us.

To this Sir William Yonge replied:

Sir William Yonge.

SIR,

'As all the Objections made to what is now propoſed have been already fully anſwered by other Gentlemen, I ſhall not pretend, to enter much into the Merits of the Queſtion; neither did I intend to have given you any Trouble in this Debate; but ſuch Expreſſions have dropped from the Honourable Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, that it is impoſſible they ſhould be paſſed over without ſome Notice. He told us that the Crown had often aſſerted for Truth what afterwards appeared to be falſe. This, Sir, I muſt

to be an Accuſation which is very inconſiſtent with that Duty and Reſpect, which every Member of this Houſe ought to ſhew to the Crown; and I was the more ſurprized to hear that Gentleman accuſe the Crown of impoſing Falſities upon the Parliament, becauſe he always uſes a great deal of Caution in what he ſays in this Houſe: I was ſorry the Honourable Gentleman was prevented from proceeding in this Diſcourſe, becauſe I believe he would have explained what he had ſaid in ſuch a Manner as not to imply ſo much Diſreſpect to the Crown; I dare ſay he would: but as his Words now ſtand, I cannot think it poſſible they ſhould eſcape the Notice of this Houſe. I promiſed not to enter much into the Merits of the Queſtion; however I will beg Leave to explain a little what paſſed in this Houſe the firſt Day of the Seſſion, upon the Motion for an Addreſs to his Majeſty: I remember ſome Gentlemen took Exceptions to an Expreſſion propoſed to be put into that Addreſs, as if a Promiſe of a Vote of Credit had been intended to be couched under it; and upon that Occaſion the honourable Gentleman by me, ſaid, he believed no Perſon ſo much as dreamed that ſuch an Uſe was intended to be made of that Expreſſion; becauſe if any ſuch Thing as a Vote of Credit ſhould be deemed neceſſary, the Demand for it would come in the uſual Way by a Meſſage; and if any ſuch Meſſage ſhould happen to come, he believed no Argument in favour of it either could or would be drawn from the Words then propoſed to be put into your Addreſs. Gentlemen, I perceive, pretend that they cannot find out the Difference between what is now propoſed and a Vote of Credit; Yet in my Opinion, if they will be at the Pains to compare the two together, they may very eaſily diſcover the Difference; for a Vote of Credit is, where a Sum is given for certain Services, not to be accounted for to Parliament; whereas the preſent Meſſage bears this expreſs Promiſe in it, that a full and particular Account ſhall be laid before next Parliament of all the Expences which may be incurred in Conſequence of the Powers now to be granted: and as no Power is deſired but what appears to me neceſſary for the Security and Quiet of the Nation, I neither can ſee nor have heard any ſufficient Reaſon for not granting them.'

Sir William Yonge was anſwer'd by Sir John Barnard, as follows:

SIR,

'The Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt found fault, Sir, with my worthy Friend below me, for ſpeaking diſreſpectfully, as he called it, of the Crown; upon which I muſt obſerve that the Hon. Gentleman is very apt, I will

Sir John Barnard.

Anno 7 Geo. II. 1734.

not ſay willingly, to miſtake what other Gentlemen ſay, and then to find fault with what he ſuppoſes they did ſay. My worthy Friend ſaid, that the Crown has often been induced to aſſert for Truth what Time has afterwards diſcovered not to be true. Sir, the Crown is never ſuppoſed to know any thing but by Information, and if thoſe who inform the Crown have been themſelves miſinformed, or ſhould for any private and wicked Purpoſe give the Crown a falſe Information, the Crown may by ſuch Information be induced to aſſert for Truth, what Time may very probably ſhew not to have been true; ſo that without any Explanation, there is no Foundation for finding fault with what my worthy Friend ſaid: Nay, it is what happens but too often. Were not we told but a few Years ago of ſome ſecret Articles in an Alliance entered into between two of our Neighbours, by which Gibraltar was to have been taken from us, and the Pretender to have been placed by force upon the Throne of theſe Realms? This was afterwards diſcovered not to be true; and indeed, to conſider the Situation and Circumſtances of the two Powers ſaid to have entered into theſe Articles, it is hardly poſſibly to believe that any ſuch Projects ſhould have enter'd into either of their Heads. Yet this was confidently aſſerted; and to have pretended at that Time to have doubted of it, would, I believe, have been reckoned highly diſreſpectful to the Crown, if not downright Diſaffection. So far are we, Sir, from being obliged to believe every Thing aſſerted by the Crown, that we are in many Caſes bound to enquire into the Truth of ſuch Aſſertions; and if they ſhould, upon ſuch Enquiry, appear to be falſe, we ought to puniſh thoſe who have either fooliſhly or knaviſhly impoſed upon the Crown.

'Upon the preſent Occaſion, Sir, the Crown is abſolutely ſafe from any Accuſation or Suſpicion of this Kind; for we have not as yet had the leaſt Information from the Crown; even by the preſent Meſſage, notwithſtanding the great Powers thereby demanded, it is not ſo much as inſinuated that the Nation is in any Danger, nor are we informed of any Fact from which it may be conjectured that the Nation may ſoon be in Danger. It has indeed been inſinuated by an Hon. Gentleman in this Houſe, by way of Supplement to the Meſſage, that we are in Danger of an Invaſion from France; but even that Gentleman himſelf ſays, he does not believe we are in any Danger, which is ſomething very ſingular; he does not, he ſay, believe it, but yet he would have every other Gentleman in this Houſe believe it; for it is certain there

is no Danger to be apprehended from any other foreign Power; therefore it is impoſſible for any Gentleman, who is of this Opinion, with reſpect to our Danger from France, to agree to this Reſolution: I ſay, it is impoſſible that any Gentleman, who does not think the Nation in any Danger, ſhould agree to the granting to the Crown an unlimited Power of raiſing Forces by Sea and Land, of entering into expenſive Alliances, and putting the Nation to an infinite Expence.

'But perhaps, Sir, the Danger we are now threatened with is of a Domeſtick Nature: If ſo, I wiſh ſome of thoſe Gentlemen who know it would riſe up and give us ſome Account of it; for really my Imagination is ſo barren, that I cannot form to myſelf an Idea of any ſuch Danger, unleſs it be the Danger of having the Majority of next Parliament conſiſt of ſuch Perſons as may not be agreeable to ſome Gentlemen; and if the Vote of Credit we are now to give ſhould be applied towards preventing that Danger, if any Part of the Money ſhould be made uſe of for that Purpoſe, it is certain, that no Gentleman needs be under any Apprehenſions or any Uneaſineſs from the Promiſe now made, of accounting to next Parliament. But I beg pardon, Sir, I believe I ſhould not have called the Reſolution propoſed to us a Vote of Credit, for I find Gentlemen are greatly divided whether it ought to be called a Vote of Credit, or a Vote of Confidence. However, I think that Diſpute may be eaſily accommodated by calling it a Vote of Confidence and Credit.

'It may be thought, Sir, that I do not treat this Subject ſeriouſly enough: I will allow, that if the Nation were really in any Danger it would be an Affair of very great Conſequence. In ſuch a Caſe, it would be a very ſerious Queſtion to determine, Whether we ſhould devolve the Power of Parliament upon the Crown for a ſhort Time: But when Gentlemen come with ſuch a Demand, without any Foundation, when even they themſelves tell us they believe we are in no Danger, but tell us of a French Squadron with four or five thouſand Forces ready to be put on Board; and becauſe we are now juſt at the End of a Parliament, make uſe of that Story as a ſufficient Argument for us to put it in the Power of a Miniſter never to call another: I ſay, Sir, ſuch a Demand, founded upon ſuch an Argument, muſt be look'd on as a Miniſterial Demand only, and therefore ought either to be treated with Ridicule, or rejected with Indignation. It is a Demand of ſuch a Nature, Sir, that in my Opinion, no Gentleman, who has the leaſt Regard for Parliaments, or who expects ever to ſit in another free Parliament, can agree to it.'

Anno 7 Geo. II. 1734.

Hereupon Sir Robert Walpole ſtood up again, and ſaid,

Sir Robert Walpole.

SIR,

'In the Station in which I have the Honour to ſerve the King, I cannot ſit ſtill when I hear the Crown reflected on in the manner it has been. I am in Juſtice to the Memory of the late King, and in Duty to the preſent, obliged to take Notice of what happened to fall from the Honourable Gentleman under the Gallery. His late Majeſty's Aſſertion relating to the two ſecret Articles agreed on between two foreign Powers, which that Gentleman took Notice of, and which he was pleaſed to ſay appeared afterwards not to be true, was as well founded, and as true an Aſſertion as ever came from the Crown, 'Tis true indeed, Mr. Palm the Imperial Miniſter then at this Court, denied that there were any ſuch ſecret Articles in the Treaty; [v. APPENDIX] but, Sir, when we have the Word of the late King from the Throne on one ſide, and the Denial of a foreign Miniſter, a Miniſter of inferior Rank too, upon the other, I muſt ſay that in ſuch a Caſe, to pretend to be at a loſs which to give moſt Credit to, is treating the Memory of our late Sovereign with very great Indignity; and I am ſure, if Time has diſcovered any Thing, it has diſcovered the contrary of what the Honourable Gentleman pretends. Do not we all know that Gibraltar was ſoon after actually beſieged, and if proper Care had not been taken to prevent it, every Thing elſe that was ſtipulated by thoſe ſecret Articles would as certainly have been undertaken. The other Project, if it had been undertaken, would, I believe, have met with the ſame Succeſs; but I am perſuaded there are ſome who are ſorry it was not accompliſhed.

'Gentlemen talk, Sir, of Miniſters miſinforming, and impoſing upon the Crown; but in that Caſe it was not the late Majeſty's Miniſters here who informed him, it was he that informed them of that Tranſaction: He had his Information at Hanover, and his Information was ſo good, that he could not be deceived? I know as well, and am as certain, that there were ſuch Articles, as thoſe very Perſons who drew up the Articles. I am ſorry, Sir, I have been provoked to ſay ſo much, to talk of theſe things may now be improper, and perhaps I cannot juſtify myſelf in having ſaid ſo much, yet in Juſtice to the late King, I think I could ſay no leſs.

'As to the Queſtion it ſelf, I have heard no Objection made, but what have been fully anſwered by other Gentlemen, therefore ſhall not trouble you further upon it, but only to declare, that as this Nation may be expoſed to great Dangers during the Interval of Parliament, I think it abſolutely neceſſary to comply with his Majeſty's Meſſage, and as an Account is to be rendered to next Parliament, and as that Parliament muſt meet ſome Time next Winter

if not ſooner, the Powers now to be granted cannot, in that Time, produce any bad Conſequences; but may produce very good Effects, by giving a due Weight to any Propoſals his Majeſty, in Conjunction with his Allies, may think proper to make to the Powers now engaged in War.' Anno 7 Geo. II. 1734.

To this Mr. Pulteney replied:

SIR,

'As it is now ſo late, and as many unanſwerable Objections have been made to the Propoſition now before us, I ſhould not have given you any trouble, but that I think the Queſtion of ſo great Moment, that I ought to teſtify my Averſion to it by ſomething more than a bare Negative. As to the Danger from the French Fleet, Sir, it is either too near to be provided againſt by any thing that can be done in conſequence of this Meſſage, or it is ſo remote, that it may be provided againſt in a regular Manner: This has already been taken notice of, and has not as yet received any Anſwer. But I muſt further obſerve, that if there had ever been any Ground to ſuſpect, that the French Fleet was deſign'd againſt this Iſland, their not coming hither before now, is ſufficient to remove any Jealouſy that might have been entertained that Way. They might have had Ships ſufficient to have tranſported 5 or 6000 Men to this Iſland, and thoſe Troops might have been embarked, nay, and even landed in this Iſland, long before this Time; and therefore their Fleet's waiting ſo long in their Harbour, is a plain Demonſtration, that they are not deſign'd againſt this Iſland, but againſt a Place, which they cannot approach ſo early in the Spring. Mr. Pulteney.

'It is ſomething very ſurprizing to me, Sir, that upon the preſent Occaſion we ſhould be told what the Dutch have done, or rather, indeed, what they have not done. When they make any Reduction of their Forces, in order to ſave publick Expence, and ſpare their People, we are then told, that their Example can be no Rule for us: But if they make any neceſſary Addition to their Land Forces, in order to put themſelves in a Poſture of Defence againſt Dangers, which we, from the Difference of our Situation, have not the leaſt Reaſon to apprehend, then we are told, we ought to follow their Example: But in the preſent Caſe, even the Example of the Dutch can be no Argument. We have already done more than they have done, we have not only reſolved to keep up the ſame Number of our Land-Forces, which certainly would not have been done, if the Tranquillity of Europe had remained undiſturbed; but we have already made a very large Addition to the Number of our Seamen; an Addition which amounts to a greater Number of Men than that Number of Land-Forces which the Dutch have only reſolved

Anno 7 Geo. II. 1734.

reſolved not to reduce. So that tho' we be not near ſo much expoſed to the Danger as the Dutch; yet we have already very far exceeded them in the Expence we have put our ſelves to, on account of the War.

'We are next told, that the Towns in Flanders are in a very bad Situation, and no way provided for Defence. For God's ſake, Sir, are we thus to be eternally the Dupes of Europe? If the Emperor, or any other Power, neglects to keep their fortified Places in a proper Poſture of Defence, muſt we anſwer for that Neglect? Are we, for the Sake of preſerving the Balance of Power in Europe, to undertake, at our own Charges, to defend every Power in Europe, and to prevent their being invaded or conquered by any of their Neighbours? Such Arguments, Sir, I ſhould think ridiculous, if made uſe of for perſuading us to put ourſelves to the leaſt additional Expence; but they are much more ſo, when they are the only Arguments made uſe of for prevailing with us to make a total Surrender of our Liberties. Surely, Gentlemen muſt think this Houſe mighty ready to reſign the Liberties of their Country, when they make ſuch Propoſitions, and ſupport them by ſuch Arguments.

'To me, Sir, it really appears as if this Propoſition had been made by way of Experiment, to ſee what Lengths we might be prevailed on to go; and if we agree to it, I am ſure it is what we can never anſwer for to our ſelves, our Conſtituents, or our Poſterity; nay, we cannot anſwer for it, even to his Majeſty himſelf; for it is a deſtroying of the Rights of Parliament; and as his Majeſty's Right to the Crown, is founded on the Rights of Parliament, whatever tends to the Deſtruction of the one, muſt tend to the Deſtruction of the other. The Parliament, Sir, is the Guardian of the Crown, as well as of the People. We are put to protect the People in the Enjoyment of their Rights and Privileges, we are likewiſe to protect the Crown againſt wicked and evil Counſellors; and, in my Opinion, the Meſſage now before us, and the Propoſition now made to us, are of ſuch an extraordinary Nature, that if the Spirit of Liberty, that Spirit which brought about the Revolution, and eſtabliſhed the preſent Family upon the Throne, is not already quite extinguiſhed in this Nation, we may ſoon expect to ſee a Parliament, that will not only cenſure, but condemn and puniſh thoſe who have been the chief Adviſers of ſuch a Meaſure.'

An Addreſs in purſuance of the King's Meſſage agreed

Mr. Talbot ſpoke next for the Motion, and Sir John Hynde Cotton againſt it: Then the Queſtion being put, upon the Motion for the Addreſs, it was carried in the Affirmative by 248 to 147.

See 3. Hiſt. Rec. of Comm. 156.

April

April 1. The above Addreſs was preſented to the King; and his Majeſty return'd the following Anſwer:

GENTLEMEN,

" I return you my Thanks for theſe Aſſurances of your " Duty and Fidelity to my Perſon and Government, and " for the Confidence, which you repoſe in me. I deſire " only, that I may be in a Condition to ſupport the Honour " and Intereſt of my Crown and People; and the Power, " you have given me, ſhall be made Uſe of to no other " Purpoſe."

His Majeſty's Anſwer thereto.

April 8. Sir Robert Walpole preſented to the Houſe the following Meſſage from the King:

GEORGE R.

" His Majeſty, having been pleaſed to direct Letters- " Patent to be paſſed under the Great Seal of Great-Britain, " for ſettling on the Princeſs Royal an Annuity of 5000 l. " per Annum, as a Mark of his Royal Favour and Affecti- " on to her, and the Laws now in being reſtraining his " Majeſty from granting the ſame for any longer Term " than his own Life, hopes, he ſhall be enabled to make " ſuch Grant for the Life of the ſaid Princeſs Royal, in " Caſe ſhe ſhall ſurvive his Majeſty, and recommends the " Conſideration thereof to this Houſe."

The King's Meſſage for ſettling an Annuity of 5000 l. per Annum, on the Princeſs Royal for her Life.

The above Meſſage was immediately taken into Conſideration, and a Bill order'd accordingly, which paſs'd both Houſes in three Days: Notwithſtanding which, it is obſervable, that upon the Second Reading thereof in the Houſe of Commons, a Motion being made for committing the Bill, the ſame was oppos'd by ſome Members; but upon a Diviſion, it was carried in the Affirmative by 133 againſt 56.

A Bill paſs'd for that Purpoſe.

April 16. The King came to the Houſe of Peers, and put an End to the Seſſion with the following Speech:

The King's Speech at puting an End to the Parliament.

" My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I Give you my hearty Thanks for the great Diſpatch you " have given to the Publick Buſineſs, and for the Con- " fidence you have repoſed in Me for the Honour and Se- " curity of My Kingdom. So ſhort a Seſſion, at ſo critical " and important a Conjuncture, concluded with ſo much " Unanimity, and ſo juſt a Regard for the true Intereſt of " the Nation, will give great Weight and Credit to all " Our publick Tranſactions, and procure that Reſpect and " Dependance upon the great Council of this Nation, which " are ſo neceſſary to ſupport the Honour and Intereſt of " Great-Britain both at Home and Abroad.

" Gentle-

Anno 7 Geo. II. 1734.

" Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

" I muſt acknowledge in a particular Manner the Zeal
" and Readineſs which you have ſhewn in raiſing in ſo
" effectual a Manner, the neceſſary Supplies for the Service
" of the Year: the Proviſion you have made for paying off
" great Part of the Debt of the Navy, a Debt neceſſarily
" and unavoidably incurred, and carrying a higher Intereſt
" than the old National Debt, and which, being at a Diſ-
" count, increaſed the Charge and Expence in all Contracts
" of the Navy and Victualling, muſt certainly be thought
" of ſingular Service to the Publick.

" My Lords and Gentlemen,

" The Time limited for the Expiration of this Parlia-
" ment drawing near, I have reſolved forthwith to iſſue
" my Proclamation for the diſſolving of it, and for calling
" a new Parliament, that the Inconveniencies unavoidably
" attending a general Election, may be put an End to
" as ſoon as poſſible; but I ſhould think My Self inex-
" cuſable, if I parted with this Parliament without do-
" ing them the Juſtice to acknowledge the many ſignal
" Proofs they have given, thro' the Courſe of Seven
" Years, of their Duty, Fidelity, and Attachment to
" My Perſon and Government, and their conſtant Regard
" to the true Intereſt of their Country.

" The Proſperity and Glory of My Reign depend upon
" the Affections and Happineſs of My People, and the Hap-
" pineſs of My People upon My preſerving to them all
" their legal Rights and Privileges, as eſtabliſhed under the
" preſent Settlement of the Crown in the Proteſtant Line. A
" due Execution and ſtrict Obſervance of the Laws, are the
" beſt and only Security both to Sovereign and Subject;
" their Intereſt is mutual and inſeparable, and therefore
" their Endeavours for the Support of each other ought to
" be equal and reciprocal; any Infringement or Incroach-
" ment upon the Rights of either is a Diminution of the
" Strength of both, which kept within their due Bounds
" and Limits, make that juſt Balance, which is neceſſary
" for the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, and for the
" Protection and Proſperity of the People. What depends
" upon Me, ſhall, on my Part, be religiouſly kept and ob-
" ſerved, and I make no doubt of receiving the juſt Return
" of Duty and Gratitude from them.

" I muſt in a particular Manner recommend it to you,
" and from your known Affection do expect, that you will
" uſe your beſt Endeavours to heal the unhappy Diviſions of
" the Nation, and to reconcile the Minds of all, who truly
" and ſincerely wiſh the Safety and Welfare of the King-
" dom. It would be the greateſt Satisfaction to Me to ſee

" a perfect Harmony reſtored amongſt them that have one Anno 7 Geo. II.
" and the ſame Principle at Heart, that there might be no 1734.
" Diſtinction, but of ſuch as mean the Support of Our
" preſent happy Conſtitution in Church and State, and
" ſuch as wiſh to ſubvert both. This is the only Diſtinction
" that ought to prevail in this Country, where the Intereſt
" of King and People is one and the ſame, and where
" they cannot ſubſiſt but by being ſo. If Religion, Liber-
" ty, and Property, were never at any Time more fully en-
" joyed, without not only any Attempt, but even the Sha-
" dow of a Deſign, to alter and invade them, let not theſe
" ſacred Names be made uſe of, as artful and plauſible Pre-
" tences to undermine the preſent Eſtabliſhment, under
" which alone they can be ſafe.

" I have nothing to wiſh but that My People may not
" be miſguided; I appeal to their own Conſciences for My
" Conduct, and hope the Providence of God will direct
" them in the Choice of ſuch Repreſentatives, as are moſt
" fit to be truſted with the Care and Preſervation of the
" Proteſtant Religion, the preſent Eſtabliſhment, and all
" the Religious and Civil Rights of Great-Britain.

After which the Lord Chancellor, by his Majeſty's Command, prorogued the Parliament to the 14th of May; but on the 18th of April, a Proclamation was iſſued for their Diſſolution, and for the calling a new Parliament.

The End of the Third Volume

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APPENDIX.

Mr. PRIOR's *Account of his Examination, before the Committee of Secrecy appointed to inquire into the Negotiations, relating to the Treaty of* Utrecht. [See Vol. I. p. 28.]

IN outward Appearance, they were all very civil; ſet me a Chair equal to the Table where they ſat, and next to Secretary *Stanhope*, who had the Books and Papers of the Secretary's Office before him. Mr. *Walpole* the Chairman ſaid little more than mere Compliment. Mr. *Lechmere*, with great Induſtry, hid from me, and often himſelf looked into Papers in Folio, unbound, and covered with a blue Sheet. I did not then know what they were, but during the Examination, I perceived it was the Report then printed, and in ſome few Days after publiſhed. He began with an affected Eloquence, that as I had ſerved in a very high Employment, and with very great Applauſe, the Committee relied upon my Candour and Probity: That in what they aſked me was for the King's Service, ſo what I anſwered would be for my own Honour. After this ſome of them began with ſeveral vague Queſtions: What I knew of the Negotiation? How long I had been acquainted with the Abbe *Gaultier?* If the Propoſitions came firſt from *France*, or if we ſent them? And deſired me to give them an Account of whatever I could of that whole Matter; which, it ſeems, they thought I was ſo ready to do, that ſome of them took their Pens and Paper, as if I were to begin a Sermon, and they to take ſhort Notes.

I ſaid, That as I had always acted abroad by the Au
thority of the Crown of *England*, and had, in Obedienc
to the King's Commands, given up all the Memorials an
Papers which related to that Part of the Peace in which
had a Share, I was deſirous to anſwer the Honourabl
Committee (before whom I underſtood ſuch Papers wer
in every Thing that might help to explain them: Tha
my Books were already before them; and, as I had al
ready written to Mr. Secretary *Stanhope*, thoſe Book
muſt even ſpeak for themſelves. The Committee ſeeme
to acquieſce in my Anſwer. Lord *Coningsby* whiſpere
the Chairman, and ſaid, No, we will begin with th
Money.

The Committee then deſired to know what Money
drew from the Treaſury in 1711, when I went into *Franc*
I anſwered, two hundred Pounds; and, as I remembere
that was the Sum. I had either Credit from Mr. *Cl*
ford, on his Correſpondent, or from Monſieur *Cantillo*
I could not well remember which, it being now ſo
Years ſince. Had you theſe Bills, ſome of them ſai
from my Lord Treaſurer? I replied, No. They aſk
me, Was it by his Order? I ſaid, I hoped there was
Occaſion for a Reply to that Queſtion. I preſumed
would be found, as other Money expended on the li
Occaſion, by Direction of the Sovereign. I found th
were not pleaſed with this Anſwer. *Walpole* ſaid, W
you think a little of the Method in which this Exa
nation is to proceed? And Mr. *Prior* will be pleaſed
the mean Time to retire a little.

When I was called in again, the ſame Queſtion w
aſked me, and the ſame Anſwer returned. I added, Th
I well hoped thoſe Sums, and ſeveral others of mu
greater Importance, were paid: That otherwiſe, for wa
of Knowledge in the Crown Laws, I ſhould find myſelf
Beggar; and from an Hôtel at *Paris*, might ſpend the r
of my Days in the Counter: And here I addreſſed myſ
to Mr. *Stanhope*, as to what I had writ to him concerni
my Debts. He ſaid, That nothing of all this concern
me. *Prior*, I muſt apply myſelf to you upon anot
Head. I muſt own myſelf unexperienced in the Meth
of Parliament; I have no Papers by me; I have
Council; for want of Memory or Judgment I may e
and tho', Gentlemen, I am accuſed of nothing, I know
but that I may accuſe myſelf through Inadvertency
Miſtake.

Here Mr. *Stanhope* roſe up, and told the Committ
That he had the King's particular Direction, that wh

ever I ſaid to them, or they to the Houſe of Commons, ſhould not be of any Prejudice to myſelf. I took a Sheet of Paper, which lay before me, and wrote this down, as I did what they had already ſaid to me. Here, after they had whiſpered, and ſome even ſeparated themſelves from the Table to confer in a Corner of the Room, the Chairman told me I might withdraw; which I did, leaving the Notes I had taken upon the Table.

When I was called in again, I found their Civility much abated, and the Battery quite changed. The moſt confuſed Queſtions were put to me, upon ſeveral Heads backward and forward, by *Lechmere* and *Boſcawen*, and *Coningsby*, (the two firſt of whom I think underſtood not one Word of what they were ſaying). *Coningsby* at length prevailed. Mr. *Prior*, you were ſent out that you might have Time to recollect more particularly upon whom you had Credit, when my Lord of *Oxford* ſent you into *France*. *Prior*, I have great Reſpect to the Earl of *Oxford*; but he never ſent me into *France*. And turning to Mr. Secretary *Stanhope*, who had the Books of the Office of 1711 in his Hand, I ſaid, That as I had the Honour to be ſent into *France* by the Queen's eſpecial Appointment and immediate Direction, I preſumed the Copy of my Powers were to be found in the Books before him. He turning to it, Mr. *Prior*, is this the Copy of your Inſtructions? *Prior*, I believe it is; but to give the Committee no further Trouble on this Head, I am ready either now, or any other Time, to produce the Original, as I think it may tend to my Service. Being aſked of whom I received Money in *France*? I anſwered, Of Monſieur *Cantillon*. *Boſcawen*, Was he not a Papiſt? *Prior*, Elſe, Sir, he could not have been a Banker at *Paris*, which he had been for ſeveral Years before I knew him. In one Word, he was the common Banker to whom the *Engliſh* addreſſed themſelves, and I think *Clifford* of *Amſterdam* was his Correſpondent. *Stanhope* and *Walpole*, I found frowning and nodding at each other, and extremely aſhamed at this vile Stuff.

Being ſent out, and called in again, I found the Thunder broke out. *Walpole* referred it to *Stanhope* to ſpeak. *Stanhope*, The Committee are not ſatisfied with your Behaviour to them. I have already told you, that the Lords above, and the Committee here, have taken notice that they find a conſtant Correſpondence on your Side to the Lord Treaſurer, but no Anſwers from him; whereas all your Letters from Lord *Bolingbroke* are entire, and compleatly in their right Order. Some of thoſe indeed are

miſſing. The whole Committee ecchoed the ſame Thing. *Prior*, I was told ſome Hours ſince, by this Honourable Committee, that I ſhould be aſked nothing that might prejudice myſelf. I am a good deal confuſed; I have no Council; and with great Reſpect, I look upon this to be a downright Accuſation of myſelf, as if I ſhould have held any Correſpondence I was unwilling to declare. I muſt refer myſelf to you in this Point, Mr. *Stanhope*. The Letters that we receive, when abroad, from the Secretaries of State, we keep, copying our Anſwers to them, both which juſtify our acting according to our Orders ſent us; and I preſume it will be found that my Letters, which you have in your own Keeping, anſwer thoſe written to me by the Secretaries of State under whoſe Departments I acted; which Letters you have likewiſe. You have alſo the Letters I have wrote to the Lord Treaſurer in my Books, at leaſt thoſe of them that related to the public Affair, and conſequently were worth keeping. I did not, nor could I expect a conſtant Correſpondence from him. What I wrote was for his Information; what Uſe his Lordſhip made of that Information, I had reaſon to preſume was for the Queen's Service; and the Anſwers and Directions to me were to come by the Secretary of State. *Committee*, It is very ſtrange that not above two or three Letters ſhould appear from my Lord Treaſurer, Did he not write more to you? *Prior*, He writ to me ſeveral Times, and I obey'd his Commands intimated to me therein. Thoſe Commands performed, the Letters were of no Uſe, and I no more kept them than I did Letters received from other Noblemen, the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Lord *Halifax*, Lord *Harcourt*, then Lord Chancellor, *&c.* They related no otherwiſe to the Negotiation, than in commending me, aſſuring me that he repreſented my Services to the Queen in a right Light, and wiſhing a ſpeedy End to the Negotiation, that I might come home to him.

I was ſent out again, and recalled; was aſked how many Letters I might in all have received from my Lord Treaſurer, and what was the Subſtance of any of them. *Prior*, As to the Number, I cannot particularly tell: I received a Letter from him ſometimes of five, ſometimes of ten or twelve Lines, ordering me to pay Sums of Money to Perſons who had the Queen's Penſion, and were then in *France*, or recommending ſome of his particular Friends to my Acquaintance, or, which I thought much better, telling me he had ordered the Payment of my Bills; but I might very ſafely affirm, that I had no Letter that could

poſſibly

poſſibly concern the Committee, or any body elſe. I have one Letter that as Lord Treaſurer he writ to me, which related to the Payment of the Dowry of King *James*'s Queen *Mary*; a Thing publicly tranſacted, and known here in *England*: But as no Progreſs was made in that Affair during my Stay in *France*, and that it did not belong to the Negotiation of the Peace, I had not indeed given up that Letter, but, as I thought, I could find it, or the Copy of it, if it ſhould have been thought of any Uſe. In the mean Time, I thought proper, in caſe any Thing had been done in that Matter, to keep that Letter for my own Juſtification; as indeed it would have been my Order. *Boſcawen*, Sir, you ſay you do not know how many Letters you had; might you have ten? *Prior*, I believe I might. *Boſcawen*, Might you have fourteen? *Prior*, I believe I might. *Boſcawen*, Might you have ſixteen? *Prior*, Indeed, Mr. *Boſcawen*, I have told you that I cannot anſwer you to any indefinite Number. It was ſtill urged with great Vehemence, that I kept a conſtant Correſpondence with my Lord Treaſurer. *Prior*, I am very far from denying it; but he did not keep a conſtant Correſpondence with me. It was my Duty to write to him, and he was to make what Uſe he pleaſed of my Letters. I complained ſometimes of the Objections I met with at the Court of *France* in the Execution of my Orders; and was very glad when, by the Letters from the Secretary of State, I found my Difficulty made eaſier: But, Gentlemen, ſince we are upon this Subject, throughout the whole Courſe of my Letters to my Lord Treaſurer, and even in thoſe I wrote to the Duke of *Shrewſbury*, after his Grace's Return both in *England* and *Ireland*, I ſtill complained that my Lord Treaſurer did not write to me. And here indeed, being very much teized and vexed, Lord *Coningsby* raving and threatening that theſe Letters muſt be produced; I ſaid, If there be ſuch Letters in the World, that contain the Secrets of the Negotiation written by my Lord Treaſurer, it might be very well preſumed his Lordſhip kept Copies of them, and he muſt produce them: For, ſaid I, by the eternal God I know of no ſuch Letters; and you know, my Lord, that your Countryman is no very exact Correſpondent. This I ſaid, having known that Lord *Coningsby* had troubled great Men, if not my Lord Treaſurer particularly, with Letters, who had never taken Care to anſwer him. I grant this was very fooliſhly ſaid; for one ſhould never provoke a Hedge-Hog. *Coningsby* breaking out into a great Paſſion, This is impoſing upon the Committee! *Prior*, Impoſing.

my

my Lord, is a very hard Word. He liſted up his Voice in Anger, and was going on: But *Stanhope*, yet louder than he, ſwore, that he could produce every individual Scrip of Paper that had been written to him by any Man alive, or that he had written to any Man during his being a Miniſter abroad. *Prior*, Mr. *Stanhope*, I am ſorry I cannot do the like; if it be ſo, you are the moſt careful Miniſter that ever yet was ſent abroad. They proceeded in aſking me to give an Account of what, they ſaid, I muſt needs know of the Meeting of the Lords at my Houſe with *Meſnager* and *Gaultier*. I had already heard, that they had conſulted their Friends of the Law upon that Point, and had determined to fix upon that Meeting, wherein the Preliminaries were ſigned, as an Accuſation of Treaſon. How juſtly I live to the Judgment of all diſintereſted and honeſt Men; ſince firſt, in the Nature of the Thing, it is impoſſible for any two Nations in War to come ever to an Accommodation, or begin any Plan, upon which a future Peace may be founded, without ſome Overture and Intervention of this Kind. All Treaties, from that of *Vervens* down to this Day, have been thus mediated. *Calieres* was in *Holland*, and diſcourſed and conferred privately with Monſieur *Dyckvelt*, on the Part of the States, above two Years before he took a public Character, and ſigned the Treaty of *Ryſwick*. Monſieur *de Torcy* was publicly in *Holland*, 1709, conferred with the Penſioner, and the Deputies of the States; and our own Plenipotentiaries, the Duke of *Marlborough* and Lord *Townſhend*, reported from thoſe Deputies to Her Majeſty, what the *French* Miniſter either propoſed or granted. *Meſnager* had as full Powers as *France* could give, had owned the Queen's Authority, and ſeen her Perſon; and had, by her Majeſty's Directions, ſeveral Times conferred with the Lords of a Committee of Cabinet; all the World ſeeing the Man, and knowing the Fact: So that any Meeting after this could not be ſecret, dangerous, or treaſonable. Mr. *St. John*'s Letter on the 25th *September*, 1711, to Her Majeſty informs her immediately of this Meeting, and Her Majeſty approves of what is there done, by her eſpecial Warrant for ſigning the Preliminaries, containing the Demands made by her Order *.

It may be obſerved that Mr. *St. John* writes to the Queen thus,

" The Committee of Council met this Morning at the " *Cockpit*, and directed the Earl of *Dartmouth* and myſelf " to

* *Appendix to the Report, Page* 8.

" to confer with Monſieur *Meſnager*: We ſaw him ac-
" cordingly this Evening, at Mr. *Prior*'s Houſe, where
" my Lord Treaſurer and Lord Chamberlain were like-
" wiſe preſent.". The Treaſon therefore, if there were any, was committed in the Morning by the Committee of Council, and at the *Cockpit*, and not at Mr. *Prior*'s Houſe in the Evening. It may properly here be added, the Queen had ſigned a Warrant the 17th of *September*, 1711, to the Lord Keeper, for full Powers *; in which my Lord *Harcourt* then Lord Chancellor, the Earl of *Oxford* Lord Treaſurer, the Duke of *Buckingham* Preſident of the Council, the Biſhop of *Briſtol* Lord Privy Seal, the Duke of *Shrewſbury* Lord Chamberlain, the Earl *Poulett* Lord Steward of the Houſhold, and the Earl of *Dartmouth* and Mr. *St. John* Secretaries of State, and *Matthew Prior*, Eſq; were nominated and empowered to meet with the Sieur *Meſnager*, provided with ſufficient Authority to ſettle an eventual or conditional Convention between Her Majeſty and the moſt Chriſtian King; and that this Warrant was not made uſe of, for Reaſons given, being very natural, becauſe they were Offers only on the *French* Side, and did not oblige Her Majeſty to any Thing: So they were only ſigned *Meſnager*, and *Dartmouth* and *St. John* are only Witneſſes that theſe Articles are to be looked upon as Conditions which his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty agrees to grant, and which are afterwards to be reduced into Form, and explained to the common Satisfaction of *Great Britain* and *France*. Tho' this Procedure will, without doubt, hereafter appear conſonant to common Senſe, conducive to the Safety and Good of *Great Britain*, and juſtifiable by the univerſal Cuſtom and Law of Nations, *Nunc non erat his locus*. I ſaid, Monſieur *Meſnager* had often been at my Houſe; that the Secretary of State had ſeen him there; that I had eat and drank, and been abroad with him ſeveral Times. They took great hold of this. *Boſtowen* expreſſed himſelf with great Joy, This is more than we knew before! And from thence they ran wildly back, When I knew *Gaultier*? Where I had been with *Meſnager*? I anſwered to this in as general Terms as I could. The Chairman perceived that they would loſe their Point in this Multiplicity of Queſtions, and, checking their Speed, reſtrained it to this one Demand. *Chairman*, What Lords were preſent at your Houſe at the Meeting when the preliminary Articles were talked of or ſigned? I anſwer'd, The two Secretaries of State; for it is

* *Appendix to the Report, p. 7.*

is certain they were ſo, their Names appearing in the Inſtrument. *Chairman*, Was my Lord *Oxford* there? *Prior*, I cannot recollect it: One of the Lords were abſent; whether the Duke of *Shrewſbury*, or the Earl of *Oxford*, I cannot tell. In all Sincerity and Honour this is Truth. They grew extremely anger'd upon it, and ſent me out to recollect if both theſe Lords were not preſent.

I came in, and aſſured them again, That as well as I could remember a Tranſaction, of which I took no Notes, and which was now above three Years paſt, and of which I was ſo far from expecting to be called to any Account, that I thought it was an Honour to me, I could not determine which of the two were abſent. I ſaid again, That this was Fact, that I do not remember it: I have only an Idea that one of them was abſent. The Anſwer indeed had this Effect, that it was the ſame Thing as if they were both abſent, ſince they could not determine which of them was preſent. But upon this Meeting no leſs Accuſation than an Article of High Treaſon was to be founded. Was any thing more difficult ever put upon a Man, than to endeavour to extort an Evidence from me, in order to bring thoſe to the Scaffold who were Friends and Patrons, under whoſe Orders formerly, and with whom jointly now, I had the Honour to act, by the Queen's Directions, and in a Matter not only innocent, but laudable! Or could any thing be more abſurd, or more inhuman, than to propoſe to me a Queſtion, by the anſwering of which I might (according to them) prove myſelf a Traytor! Since, as I had heard, every Man who is a Partner, is a Principal in Treaſon: And notwithſtanding their ſolemn Promiſe, that nothing which I could ſay ſhould hurt myſelf, I had no Reaſon to truſt them; for they violated that Promiſe about five Hours after (as I ſhall ſay anon.) However, I owned I was there preſent. Whether this was wiſely done or no, I leave to my Friends to determine.

From my being taken up by Order of the Houſe of Commons, this Examination was juſt a Week. They now, after I had been turned out, and returned again, interrogated me: If ſince my being taken into Cuſtody, I had not ſeen my Lord of *Oxford*, or any of his Relations? I ſaid, I had ſeen my Lord *Oxford* the laſt *Sunday* at Mr. *Thomas Harley*'s Houſe; and was going on to explain that Mr. *Thomas Harley* and I, who were taken up at the ſame Time, (living within three Doors of each other) commonly dined together at one or the other of our Houſes, our reſpective Meſſengers guarding us. That on *Sunday* going to dine with Mr. *Harley*, I ſaw my Lord *Oxford* at

the Stairs-head, going out; that I aſked him if he ined with us: He told me, he was to dine in better Com-ny: That this was all that paſſed between us; the eſſenger at the Bottom of the Stairs heard every Word ſaid to him. As I was telling this, they anſwered it was ficient, I had ſeen my Lord *Oxford*, and his near Rela-ions; which was the Queſtion aſked.

I here was ordered to retire, and when I was called in gain, the Chairman, from amongſt many Books and apers which he had before him, (and the Secretary of tate had on the other Side as many; and I perceived many f them were my own) the Chairman, I ſay, abruptly nough drew out one Half-Sheet of the large Demy Paper, ritten very foul, and razed in ſeveral Places, which, indeed, when he gave into my Hand, I hardly knew what t was, ſo far as to give any reaſonable Account of it, it eing without Date or Title, and, as I ſay, very imperfect s to the very Words and Stile. He aſked me drily, and ithout any other previous Word, If I knew that Hand? *Prior*, There are two Hands in it, one is very like the Hand I write when firſt I make any Brouillon. *One or wo of the Committee.* Sir, What do you mean by a Brouillon? *Prior*, When I write any thing at firſt only for ny own Memory, as to what I would draw up after in a more perfect Manner. I peruſed this Piece of Paper, and upon a little Reflection, directing myſelf to Mr. *Stanhope*, ſaid, I believe this Paper contained ſome Notes upon a Letter I received from his Predeceſſor my Lord *Bolingbroke*. He was appriſed of this before; for he readily turned to the Letter which was regiſtred in the Office-Book. I added, that I thought there were ſome Notes I had taken in the *French* Language, to enable me to ſpeak more par-ticularly to Monſieur *de Torcy* of the Matters mention'd in the ſaid Secretary's Letter. As that Letter was written four Years before, and I was not in Poſſeſſion of my own Letters, the Secretary himſelf and the Committee could beſt inform themſelves of the Subſtance thereof. There was written, *My Lord, Tr. ne doute point que la Cour de France n'y trouve de remede.* Now whatever Lord that might mean, they had already printed it my Lord Trea-ſurer*; and in ſo doing had given that Sentence the wrongeſt Conſtruction imaginable, as proving that my Lord Treaſurer would give up *Tournay* to *France*; whereas the whole Hint was meant to renew to the Miniſters at that Court, that *Tournay* was to be given to the Allies; and

* *Vide the Report, p.* 34.

it was to keep the Court of *France* from endeavouring t
hope the contrary. As what was in this Brouillon w
ſometimes an Abridgment, and ſomtimes a verbal Tranſl
tion of my Lord *Bolingbroke*'s Letter, which Mr. *Stanho*
ſtill held cloſe, and as I read the *French* into *Engliſh*,
aſked him if the ſame Senſe was in the Letter. He did n
deny it. *Coningsby* grew extremely angry, and on a ſudde
broke out into ſome Expreſſions which neither he ſhoul
have utterr'd, nor will I repeat; and ſo I was ordered
withdraw again; which was into the next Room, whe
not only a Meſſenger of the Houſe of Commons, but
Door-Keeper of the Secretary's Office, waited all Da
and were ſtill ready to receive me.

Being called in again, I was interrogated without M
thod or Connection, as any Member of the Committ
pleaſed, and indeed with Confuſion and Diſorder enoug
among themſelves; for they ſometimes ſtopped each other
Queſtion, and propoſed new ones of their own. At laſt,
came to this. *Chairman*, Mr. *Prior*, we cannot doubt b
that you are appriſed of the whole Affair of *Tournay*. D
my Lord ever write about *Tournay?* *Prior*, I cann
readily anſwer, as not underſtanding the Force of the Que
tion: I believe my Lord Treaſurer may have writ to m
concerning *Tournay* at the Beginning of the Negociation
I am ſure he has ſpoke to me about *Tournay:* I may b
miſtaken as to the Time; but I think in 1711 the *Fren*
inſiſted upon their having *Tournay:* But I very well remem
ber, that the Queen's Inſtructions to Her Ambaſſadors fo
the general Peace, were poſitive that the *Dutch* ſhould hav
it: I underſtood the Negotiation to continue always upo
that Foot. I added, that as the Affair of the Barrier w
tranſacted at *Utrecht*, I had nothing in my Inſtructio
relating to that whole Matter, otherwiſe than as it migh
relate in general to the Peace. What I have of the whol
Negotiation is before you. Here *Walpole* and *Stanho*
grew mightily perplexed; one in a ſullen, and t'other i
an unbounded Paſſion. *Coningsby* raved out-right. I ma
juſtly proteſt that I could not conceive the Cauſe of thi
Diſorder; for I did not know that they had already founde
their High Treaſon upon the Articles of *Tournay*, again
my Lord Treaſurer; nor can I ſince comprehend wh
they did. To ſhew the Juſtice, as well as the good Judg
ment of theſe Men, it muſt certainly appear not onl
extravagant, but ridiculous to all that think righter tha
the Committee, that is, to all Men living, that an Artic
of High Treaſon ſhould be founded againſt an *Engli*
Miniſter upon *Tournay*, which was not given up to th
Frenc

French, and no mention ever made of *Liſle*, which actually was given up. This by the way. It may be further obſerved, that at that Time not one third Part of the Committee themſelves did know upon what Point the Accuſations either againſt the Earl of *Oxford*, or any Man elſe, were to be grounded; ſeveral of them having ſince told me themſelves, that they never either drew up or read the Report; but that thoſe Things came to them, as they merrily expreſſed it, ready cut and dried.

But to return to my Journal; this various and incoherent Manner of Examination having now laſted above nine Hours, Two of my Maſters (by the way) Sir *Richard Onſlow*, and General *Erle*, had left the Committee almoſt at the Beginning of the Day; for to give them their Due; they asked me very few Queſtions while there, and by going away ſeemed aſhamed of the Proceeding: And now *Walpole* himſelf grew weary of it, and was going, but hindered, and, as it were, kept in the Chair by Mr. *Stanhope*, who ſaid openly, they could not go on without the Chairman. I was ordered to withdraw, and during about half an Hour's Receſs into the next Room, or rather Paſſage, as the Door was by chance opened, I heard them extremely warm and loud with one another. Whilſt I was in this little Room, in which the Meſſenger, under whoſe Cuſtody I was, and a Door-Keeper of the Secretary's Office, as I have already ſaid, were waiting, *Coningsby*, came out by a Back-Way, as *Boſcawen* did by the Fore-Door. In this Room was a Trunk, and in it ſeveral Papers and Memorials, to which the Committee had Recourſe during the Examination. The Trunk was open, and I could not but perceive by the Indorſements that many of the Papers were my own. *Coningsby* whiſpered the Officers to take care that I ſhould not come nigh the Trunk, and really looked on me more like a Fury than a Man; tho' certainly I had all the Right imaginable to ſee every Paper that related to me in my Examination, which was pretended to be made upon no other Foot, than that the King ſhould be informed of what I had done for his Service in the Negotiation of the Peace; and if the Committee themſelves had had really a mind to be appriſed of the Truth as to Fact, the hindering a Man whom they intended ſhould become an Evidence from ſeeing his own Papers, was but an ill Methed towards his giving them a clearer Intelligence.

I was now called in for the laſt Time, and I found that they had collected ſeveral Heads of what they thought proper I ſhould ſet my Hand to. I read them, and made

ſome Objections thereunto, but to no Purpoſe. I ſaid, that to many Queſtions I had not, nor could, anſwer in the poſitive Manner that was there ſet down: That as to divers Facts, I could not take Things upon my Memory: That as to others, I had indeed ſaid I believed, I thought, I heard, or underſtood, they were ſo: That the Omiſſion of theſe Words made me ſay poſitively, and as an Evidence, what I ſhould not be able to maintain, having only anſwered them as my Memory ſerved me, and as much as I knew of the Heads upon which I had been interrogated; knowing that they themſelves had blamed my Anſwers, for being very imperfect; and I had more than once told them, I was ſorry I could not anſwer them more fully. I objected againſt theſe Words: *He confeſſes, that ſince his Confinement, he has converſed with the Earl of* Oxford, *and his neareſt Relations.* I did not, I ſaid, confeſs. Confeſſion ſuppoſes a Crime: I was told, I was accuſed of none: I ſaid, I had ſeen the Earl of *Oxford* at Mr. *Thomas Harley*'s; and as I was going to tell the Thing again, *Jeſus!* ſaid *Coningsby*, how perjured is this Man? PRIOR, My Lord, have a Care of ——. *Coningsby*, No, Sir, 'tis you that muſt have a Care. Seeing now the Face of the Committee againſt me; knowing and preſuming that if ever the Duke of *Shrewſbury*, the Earl of *Oxford*, or Lord *Bolingbroke* himſelf, ſhould be brought to Trial, I muſt be ſure before the Lords have an Opportunity of explaining what I had ſaid, and declaring what Uſage I had found from the Committee, I ſigned the Paper. I cannot here omit a ridiculous Inſtance of my *Middleſex* Juſtice's Skill in the Law: He was juſt going to ſet his Name on the left Hand of the Paper, where I was to have ſet mine; and, if he had not been timely cautioned by the Chairman, it would have been the Diſpoſition of *Hugh Boſcawen, jurat. coram me*, Matthew Prior.

When I had thus ſigned the Paper, the Chairman told me, that the Committee were not at all ſatisfied with my Behaviour, nor could give ſuch an Account of it to the Houſe that might merit their Favour in my Behalf: That at preſent they thought fit to lay me under a ſtricter Confinement than that of my own Houſe. Here *Boſcawen* play'd the Moraliſt, and *Coningsby* the Chriſtian; but both very aukwardly. *Boſcawen* ſaid, that he had often heard Mr. *Stepney*, (who was a wiſe Man, and our old Friend) repeat this Proverb, *Near is my Shirt; but nearer my Skin*; and told me, if I had remembered that Saying, and acted according to it, it would have been better for me. And *Coningsby* ſaid, he had known me a long Time, and was heartily

heartily ſorry for my Condition; but all this proceeded from my own Fault. Now this kind Commiſeration did not laſt above a Minute; for the Meſſenger, to whoſe Houſe they intended to confine me, being called, *Coningsby* aſked him, if his Houſe was ſecured by Bolts and Bars. The Meſſenger, who is by Birth a Gentleman, and a very good-natured Man, was aſtoniſhed at the Queſtion; and anſwered, that he never had any in his Cuſtody but Parliament Priſoners, (as he expreſſed it,) and there were neither Bolts nor Bars in his Houſe. At which *Coningsby* very angrily ſaid, Sir, you muſt ſecure this Priſoner; it is for the Safety of the Nation, if he eſcapes, you ſhall anſwer for it. And now I met with another Hardſhip, which indeed I could not have expected, as I had all Day taken Notes of the Heads of their Examination, and my Anſwers, and particularly that Mr. *Stanhope* had, by his Majeſty's Order, informed the Committee, that from whatever I ſhould ſay in this Examination, nothing ſhould or ought to redound to my Prejudice: Nor indeed could it be imagined I ſhould anſwer upon any other Foot; for without the King's Conſent, I doubt, if I ought at all to have anſwered to the Committee.

M. P.

A LIST *of the* MEMBERS *who voted for and againſt the* BILL *for repealing the* ACTS, To prevent Occaſional Conformity; *and*, To hinder the GROWTH of SCHISM. [See Vol. I. p. 191.]

Thoſe MEMBERS *marked thus* *, *were againſt the Motion made by* Lord GUERNSEY. [See Vol. I. p. 193.]

For the BILL.

ABERCROMBY Alexander, *Eſq*;
Addiſon Joſeph, *Eſq*;
* Aiſlabie John, *Eſq*;
* Anſtruther *Sir* John.
* Anſtruther Philip, *Eſq*;
* Aſhhurſt *Sir* Henry.
Aylmer *Lord*.

* Bailie George, *Eſq*;
* Banks Joſeph, *Eſq*;
* Bellamy William, *Eſq*;
Bere Thomas, *Eſq*;
* Bethell Hugh, *Eſq*;
* Betts William, *Eſq*;
* Bigg John, *Eſq*;
* Birch John, *Eſq*;
Biſſe Stephen, *Eſq*;
* Bladen Martin, *Eſq*;
* Blakiſton Nathaniel, *Eſq*;
* Bond Dennis, *Eſq*;
* Booth *Hon.* Langham, *Eſq*;
* Boſcawen Hugh, *Eſq*;
* Boteler John, *Eſq*;
* Brace John Thurloe, *Eſq*;

* Braddyl

Braddyl Doddington, *Esq;*
Bridges George, *Esq;*
Briſtow Robert, *Esq;*
Broderick Thomas, *Esq;*
Brudenel *Hon.* James, *Esq;*
Burford *Earl of.*
Burridge John, *Esq;*

Cadogan *Col.* Charles, *Esq;*
Campbell *Sir* James.
Campbell John, *Esq;*
Campbell John *Jun. Esq;*
Campbell Daniel, *Esq;*
Carpenter *Gen.* George, *Esq;*
Carter Laurence, *Esq;*
Carteret Edward, *Esq;*
Cartwright Henry, *Esq;*
Caſtlemain *Lord Viſc.*
Caſtlecomer *Lord.*
Caſwall *Sir* George.
Cater John, *Esq;*
Cavendiſh *Lord* James.
Chaplin *Sir* Robert.
Chetwynd John, *Esq;*
Chetwynd William, *Esq;*
Chetwynd Walter, *Esq;*
Cholmely Hugh, *Esq;*
Clark *Sir* Robert.
Clerke *Sir* Thomas.
Clayton William, *Esq;*
Clayton William, *Esq;* (*Blechingley*)
Cocks James, *Esq;*
Cockburne John, *Esq;*
Coffin Richard, *Esq;*
Cook *Sir* Charles.
Corbet *Sir* Robert.
Coventry William, *Esq;*
Cowper Spencer, *Esq;*
Craigs James *Jun. Esq;*
Cunningham Henry, *Esq;*

Daines *Sir* William.
Dalrymple *Sir* David.
Darcy *Hon.* Conyers, *Esq;*
Delaval George, *Esq;*
Delaval Francis, *Esq;*
Dillington *Sir* Triſtram.

* Diſton Joſiah, *Eſq*;
* Docminique Paul, *Eſq*;
* Dodd John, *Eſq*;
* Douglas William *Jun. Eſq*;
* Douglas *Hon.* George, *Eſq*;
* Drake *Sir* Francis Henry.
Ducane Richard, *Eſq*;

Egerton *Hon.* William, *Eſq*;
Eliot Edward, *Eſq*;
Erle Joſeph, *Eſq*;
Erle Thomas, *Eſq*;
* Erle Giles, *Eſq*;
* Eyles *Sir* John.
* Eyles Francis, *Eſq*;

Fane *Hon.* John, *Eſq*;
* Farrer William, *Eſq*;
* Farrington *Sir* Richard.
* Fielding *Hon.* William, *Eſq*;
* Fitzwilliams *Lord.*
* Forbes John, *Eſq*;
* Forreſter William, *Eſq*;
* Fowler *Sir* Richard.
* Frankland Thomas, *Eſq*;

* Gibbon Philips, *Eſq*;
* Gordon *Sir* William.
* Gould Nathaniel, *Eſq*;
Grantham Richard, *Eſq*;
* Grimſton William, *Eſq*;
* Grove Grey James, *Eſq*;
Grenville Richard, *Eſq*;
* Haldane Mungo, *Eſq*;
* Haldane Patrick, *Eſq*;
* Halſey Edmund, *Eſq*;
* Hampden Richard, *Eſq*;
* Harriſon Edward, *Eſq*;
* Heathcote *Sir* Gilbert.
* Heath Thomas, *Eſq*;
* Heathcote John, *Eſq*;
* Henley John, *Eſq*;
* Hill *Sir* Roger.
Hillſborough *Lord Viſc.*
* Hillerſden William, *Eſq*;
* Hitche Robert, *Eſq*;
* Hobart *Sir* John.

Honeywood Robert, *Esq;*
Hopkins Edward, *Esq;*
Hopkins John, *Esq;*
Hoskins *Sir* Hungerford.
Hotham *Sir* Charles.
Hoghton *Sir* Henry.
Hucks William, *Esq;*

Janssen *Sir* Theodore.
Jekyll *Sir* Joseph.
Jenkins Tobias, *Esq;*
Jennings *Sir* John.
Jessop William, *Esq;*
Ingram Arthur, *Esq;*
Johnson *Sir* Thomas.
Johnston *Sir* William.

Ker *Hon.* William, *Esq;*

Lawson *Sir* Wilfrid.
Lechmere Nicholas, *Esq;*
Lee *Sir* Thomas.
Lennard *Sir* Samuel.
Lewis Thomas, *Esq;* (*Radnor*)
Littleton Thomas, *Esq;*
Lomax Joshua, *Esq;*
London John, *Esq;*
Long *Col.* Charles, *Esq;*
Lowe Samuel, *Esq;*
Lowndes William, *Esq;*
Lowther James, *Esq;*
Lowther *Sir* William.

Mead *Sir* Nathaniel.
Mason Charles, *Esq;*
Maynard Thomas, *Esq;*
Meyrick Owen, *Esq;*
Micklethwait Joseph, *Esq;*
Middleton *Lord Visc.*
Milner James, *Esq;*
Minshull Edward, *Esq;*
Molesworth *Lord Visc.*
Monro Robert, *Esq;*
Monson *Sir* William.
Montrath *Earl of.*
Montgomery John, *Esq;*
Moodie James, *Jun. Esq;*

Mordaunt *Hon. Lieutenant General.*
* Moreton Matthew Ducie, *Esq;*
* Morgan Anthony, *Esq;*
* Morpeth *Lord Visc.*
* Mountague James, *Esq;*
* Murray Alexander, *Esq;*
* Murray *Lord* James.

* Naylor George, *Esq;*
* Negus Francis, *Esq;*
* Neville Grey, *Esq;*
* Newport *Lord Visc.*
* Norris *Sir* John.

* Oliphant Charles, *Esq;*
* Onslow Denzil, *Esq;*
* Oughton *Sir* Adolphus.

Page *Sir* Gregory.
* Palmer *Sir* Thomas.
* Papillon Philip, *Esq;*
* Parker *Sir* Philip.
* Paulett *Lord* Harry.
* Paulett *Lord* William.
* Pelham Henry, *Jun. Esq;*
* Pengelly Thomas, *Esq;*
Philips *Sir* John.
* Philpot Nicholas, *Esq;*
Piers William, *Esq;*
* Pelham Thomas, *Esq;*
* Pelham *Hon.* Henry, *Esq;*
* Piggot Robert, *Esq;*
* Pynsent *Sir* William.
Pitt Thomas, *Jun. Esq;*
* Plumtree John, *Esq;*
* Pollock *Sir* Robert.
* Prideaux *Sir* Edmund.
* Pringle John, *Esq;*

* Rebow *Sir* Isaac.
* Rich *Sir* Robert.
* Rider *Sir* Barnham.
Roberts Gabriel, *Esq;*
* Rogers *Sir* John.
* Rogers Nathaniel, *Esq;*
* Rushout *Sir* John.

* Samuel

* Samwel *Sir* Thomas.
* Sawbridge Jacob, *Esq*;
Scawen *Sir* Thomas.
* Shannon *Lord Visc.*
* Shute John Barrington, *Esq*;
* Sloper William, *Esq*;
* Smelt Leonard, *Esq*;
* Smith James, *Esq*;
* Stanhope *Coll.* William, *Esq*;
* Stanhope Charles, *Esq*;
* Stanwix Thomas *Major General.*
* Steel *Sir* Richard.
* St. Quintin *Sir* William.
* Shelburn *Lord.*
* Strickland *Sir* William.
* Stuart William, *Esq*;
* Stuart *Hon.* John, *Esq*;

* Tench *Sir* Fisher.
* Thompson *Sir* William.
Thompson William, *Esq*;
* Townshend *Hon.* Horatio, *Esq*;
* Treby George, *Esq*;
* Trelawney *Sir* John.
* Trenchard George, *Esq*;
* Tuffnell Samuel, *Esq*;
* Tyrconnel *Lord Visc.*

* Vans Patrick.
Vernon Thomas, *Esq*;

* Wade George, *Esq*;
* Wager *Sir* Charles.
* Wallis William, *Esq*;
Walter Peter, *Esq*;
* Warrender *Sir* George.
Weaver John, *Esq*;
* West *Hon.* John, *Esq*;
* Wheat *Sir* Thomas.
* Whichcote *Sir* Francis.
* White Thomas, *Esq*;
* Whitmore William, *Esq*;
Wilmer William, *Esq*;
* Wills Charles *General*, *Esq*;
* Wittewrong *Sir* John.
* Wortley Edward Montagu, *Esq*;
Wroth Robert, *Esq*;

* Wylde Thomas, *Eſq;*

* Yonge William, *Eſq;*

Againſt the BILL.

ANSTIS John, *Esq.*
Archer Andrew, *Esq.*
* Aſhe Edward, *Esq.*
Aſhe William, *Esq.*
* Aſtley *Sir* Jacob.

* Bacon Waller, *Esq.*
Baker George, *Esq.*
Bampfield *Sir* Coppleſton Warwick,
Bampfield John, *Esq.*
Barrymore *Earl of.*
Baſſet John, *Esq.*
Bathurſt Benjamin, *Esq.*
Beaumont *Sir* George.
Bertie *Hon.* James, *Esq.*
Bland *Sir* John.
Blundill *Sir* Montague.
Brigſtock Owen, *Esq.*
Bruere George, *Esq.*
Buller John Francis, *Esq.*
* Bunbury *Sir* Henry.

Calmady Shilſton, *Esq.*
Calthorpe Reynolds, *Esq.*
Carew *Sir* William.
Cartwright Thomas, *Esq.*
Cave *Sir* Thomas.
Cecil *Hon.* Charles, *Esq.*
Chaffin George, *Esq.*
* Churchill *Coll.* Charles.
Clarke Godfrey, *Esq.*
Clark George *L. L. D.*
Colemore William, *Esq.*
Compton *Hon.* Spencer, *Esq.*
Conyers John, *Esq.*
Conyers Thomas, *Esq.*

Cop

APPENDIX.

Cope *Sir* Jonathan.
Cope *Sir* John.
Corbet Andrew, *Esq.*
Corrance Clement, *Esq.*
Cotton *Sir* John Hynde.
Croſs *Sir* Thomas.
Cumming *Sir* Alexander.
Curzon *Sir* John.

Davers *Sir* Robert.
Delaune William, *Esq.*
Doddington George, *Esq.*
Dowdeſwell William, *Esq.*
Downe Henry *Viſc.*
Drake Montague Garrard, *Esq.*
Drax Henry, *Esq.*
Drew Francis, *Esq.*

Earnly *Sir* Edward.
Eden *Sir* John.
Edgcomb Richard, *Esq.*
Elford Jonathan, *Esq.*
England George, *Esq.*
Evelyn George, *Esq.*

Fleetwood John, *Esq.*
Fermannagh *Lord Viſc.*
Ferrers Thomas, *Esq.*
Finch Daniel *Lord.*
Fleetwood Henry, *Esq.*
Flemming Richard, *Esq.*
Foley Richard, *Esq.*
Foley Thomas, *Esq.*
Freeman Ralph, *Esq.*

Godfrey Peter, *Esq.*
Godolphin Sidney, *Esq.*
Grahme *Hon.* James, *Esq.*
Grevile *Hon.* Doddington, *Esq.*
Groſvenor *Sir* Richard.
Guernſey *Lord.*
Gwyn Francis, *Esq.*

Hanmer *Sir* Thomas.
Hardreſs John, *Esq.*
Harley Edward, *Esq.*
Harvey Daniel, *Esq.*

Harvey Edward, *Esq.*
Hedworth John, *Esq.*
Hellier William, *Esq.*
Herbert James, *Esq.*
Herne Joſeph, *Esq.*
Heron Henry, *Esq.*
Hervey *Lord* Carr.
Heyſham William, *Esq,*
Heyſham Robert, *Esq.*
Hickman *Sir* Willoughby.
Hill Samuel, *Esq.*
Hinchingbroke *Lord Viſc.*
Hopton Richard, *Esq.*
How *Sir* Richard.
Hungerford John, *Esq.*
Hyde Robert, *Esq.*

Jeffreys Edward Winnington, *Esq.*
Jenkinſon *Sir* Robert Banks.
Jennings James, *Esq.*
Jennings Philip, *Esq.*
Ing William, *Esq.*
Jones Roger, *Esq.*
Johnſon *Sir* Henry.
Iſham *Sir* Juſtinian.

Kaye *Sir* Arthur.
Keymis *Sir* Charles.
Knight William, *Esq.*
Kynaſton Corbet, *Esq.*

Lambert Edward, *Esq.*
Lawſon Gilfrid, *Esq.*
Leiceſter *Sir* Francis.
Leigh *Hon.* Charles, *Esq.*
Levinz William, *Esq.*
Lewen *Sir* William.
Lewis Thomas, *Esq.* (*Monmouthſhire*)
Lewis Thomas, *Esq.* (*Southampton*)
Long *Sir* James.
Longueville Charles, *Esq.*
Lumley *Hon.* Henry, *Esq.*
Lutwyche Thomas, *Esq.*

Maiſters Thomas, *Esq.*
Medlicot James, *Esq.*
Mews *Sir* Peter.

Middleton

Middleton John, *Esq.*
Miller *Sir* Thomas.
* Molineux Samuel, *Esq.*
Morrice *Sir* Nicholas.
Morrice Humphry, *Esq.*
Moſtyn *Sir* Roger.

Newland William, *Esq.*
Nicholas Edward, *Esq.*
Norris Edward, *Esq.*
North Dudley, *Esq.*
Northey *Sir* Edward.
Northey William, *Esq.*
Northmore William, *Esq.*

Offley Crew, *Esq.*
Owen *Sir* Arthur.

Packer Robert, *Esq.*
Paget *Lord* Henry.
Packington *Sir* John.
Palmer Thomas, *Esq.*
Palmer *Sir* Jeffery.
Peytoe William, *Esq.*
Pitt George, *Esq.*
Pitt Thomas, *Sen. Esq.*
Pitt Robert, *Esq.*
Pole *Sir* William.
* Pulteney William, *Esq.*

Roberts John, *Esq.*
Robinſon *Sir* William.
Rolt Edward, *Esq.*
Roſs *Hon.* Charles, *Esq.*
Rowney Thomas, *Esq.*
* Rudge John, *Esq.*

* Sandford *Sir* Richard.
Sandys Samuel, *Esq.*
Sebright *Sir* Thomas Saunders.
* Selwyn John, *Esq.*
Shippen William, *Esq.*
Shuttleworth Richard, *Esq.*
Smith John, *Esq.*
Smith Thomas, *Esq.*
Smithſon Hugh, *Esq.*
Snell John, *Esq.*
* Sondes Edward *Viſc.*

* Stanhope

* Stanhope *Lord* Philip.
Stephens William, *Esq.*
Stepney *Sir* Thomas.
Stonehouſe *Sir* John.
Stradling *Sir* Edward.
Strangways Thomas, *Esq.*
Sutton *Brigadier General.*
Swanton Francis, *Esq.*

Talbot John Ivory, *Esq.*
Travers Samuel, *Esq.*
Trevanion John, *Esq.*
Turner Cholmley, *Esq.*
* Turner *Sir* Charles.
Turner *Sir* Edward.
Tyrwhit *Sir* John.

Vaughan Richard, *Esq.*
Vernon Thomas, *Esq.*
Vincent Henry, *Esq.*
Urquhart Alexander, *Esq.*

Walcot Humphrey, *Esq.*
Wallop *Hon.* John, *Esq.*
* Walpole Horatio, *Esq.*
* Walpole Robert, *Esq.*
Walter *Sir* John.
Warburton *Sir* George.
Ward John, *Esq.*
Ward William, *Esq.*
Wentworth *Hon.* Thomas, *Esq.*
Wentworth Thomas, *Jun. Esq.*
Willoughby *Hon.* Francis, *Esq.*
Windſor *Hon.* Dixey, *Esq.*
Worſley *Sir* Robert.
Worſley James, *Esq.*
Wrightſon William, *Esq.*
Wykes William, *Esq.*
Wyndham *Sir* William.
Wynn Richard, *Esq.*
* Wynn Thomas, *Esq.*
Wynn Watkin Williams, *Esq.*

York John, *Esq.*

APPENDIX.

A LIST *of the* MEMBERS *who voted for and againſt the* PEERAGE-BILL.
[See Vol. I. p. 213.]

For the BILL.

ABERCROMBY Alexander, *Eſq.*
Aſlabie *Hon.* John, *Eſq.*
Anſtruther *Sir* John. *Bart.*
Aſhurſt *Sir* Henry.

Bailie George, *Eſq.*
Banks Joſeph, *Eſq.*
Bellamy William, *Eſq*
Bere Thomas, *Eſq.*
Bigg John, *Eſq.*
Biſs Stephen, *Eſq.*
Birch John, *Eſq.*
Bladen *Col.* Martin, *Eſq.*
Blakiſton Nathaniel, *Eſq.*
Bond Dennis, *Eſq.*
Boſcawen Hugh, *Eſq.*
Boteler John, *Eſq.*
Brace John Thurloe, *Eſq.*
Braddyl Doddington, *Eſq.*
Bradſhaigh *Sir* Roger, *Bart.*
Broughton *Sir* Bryan.
Brudenel *Hon.* James, *Eſq.*
Bruere George, *Eſq.*
Buckingham Owen, *Eſq.*
Burford *Earl of.*

Cadogan *Hon.* Charles, *Eſq.*
Campbell *Sir* James.
Campbell *Hon.* John, *Sen. Eſq.*
Campbell *Hon.* John, *Jun. Eſq.*
Campbell Daniel, *Eſq.*

Carbery *Lord.*
Carpenter *Lord.*
Carter Lawrence, *Esq.*
Cartwright Henry, *Esq.*
Caſwal *Sir* George.
Cater John, *Esq.*
Chetwynd Walter, *Esq.*
Chetwynd John, *Esq.*
Chetwynd William, *Esq.*
Churchill Joſhua, *Esq.*
Clarke *Sir* Robert.
Clayton William, *Esq.*
Cockburn John, *Esq.*
Corbet *Sir* Robert.
Craiggs James, *Jun. Esq.*

Daines *Sir* William, *Knt.*
Darcy *Hon.* Conyers, *Esq.*
Deacle John, *Esq.*
Delaval George, *Esq.*
Dillington *Sir* Triſtram, *Bart.*
Docminique Paul, *Esq.*
Douglas *Hon. Col.* George, *Esq.*
Douglas William, *Jun. Esq.*

Egerton *Hon.* William, *Esq.*
Elliot Edward, *Esq.*
Erle Giles, *Esq.*
Eyles *Sir* John.
Eyre Giles, *Esq.*

Farrer William, *Esq.*
Ferguſon Alexander, *Esq.*
Fielding *Hon.* William, *Esq.*
Forbes John, *Esq.*
Fowler *Sir* Richard, *Bart.*

Gordon *Sir* William, *Bart.*
Grahme *Hon.* James, *Esq.*
Granby *Marquis of.*
Grantham Richard, *Esq.*
Greenville Richard, *Esq.*
Gregory George, *Esq.*
Grimſtone William, *Esq.*
Guidott William, *Esq.*
Haldane Patrick, *Esq.*

Haldane Mungo, *Esq.*
Halſey Edmund, *Esq.*
Hamilton *Lord* Archibald.
Hampden Richard, *Esq.*
Hardreſs John, *Esq.*
Heathcote *Sir* Gilbert, *Knt.*
Heathcote John, *Esq.*
Henley John, *Esq.*
Hartford *Earl of.*
Hilderſden William, *Esq.*
Hill *Sir* Roger, *Knt.*
Houghton *Sir* Henry, *Bart.*
Hopkins Edward, *Esq.*
Hoſkins *Sir* Hunderford, *Bart.*
Hotham *Sir* Charles, *Bart.*
Hungerford John, *Esq.*

Jenkins Tobias, *Esq.*
Jennings Philip, *Esq.*
Jeſſop William, *Esq.*
Ingram *Hon.* Arthur, *Esq.*
Ingram Arthur, *Esq.*
Johnſon *Sir* Thomas, *Knt.*

Kelſall Henry, *Esq.*
Ker *Hon.* William, *Esq.*
Knight John, *Esq.*

Lechmere Nicholas, *Esq.*
Leigh John, *Esq.*
Lennard *Sir* Samuel, *Knt. and Bart.*
Lewis Thomas, *Jun. Esq.*
Littleton Thomas, *Esq.*
Lomax Joſhua, *Esq.*
London John, *Esq.*
Long *Col.* Charles, *Esq.*
Lowe Samuel, *Esq.*
Lowndes William, *Esq.*
Lowther *Sir* Willliam.

Maſon Charles, *Esq.*
Maynard Thomas, *Esq.*
Meyrick Owen, *Esq.*
Micklethwaite Joſeph, *Esq.*
Middleton John, *Esq.*
Milner James, *Esq.*

Miltoun *Lord Viſc.*
Minſhull Edward, *Esq.*
Monro Robert, *Esq.*
Montrath *Earl of.*
Moreton Matthew Ducie, *Esq.*
Morgan Anthony, *Esq.*
Morpeth Henry *Lord Viſc.*
Murray *Lord* James.

Negus Francis, *Esq.*

Offley Crew, *Esq.*
Onſlow Denzil, *Esq.*

Palmer *Sir* Thomas.
Papillon Philip, *Esq.*
Pelham *Hon.* Henry, *Esq.*
Pelham Thomas, *Esq.*
Pengelly Thomas, *Esq.*
Philpot Nicholas, *Esq.*
Piers William, *Esq.*
Pigot Robert, *Esq.*
Pitt Thomas, *Jun. Esq.*
Plumer Walter, *Esq.*
Plumtree John, *Esq.*
Powlett *Lord* Harry.
Powlett *Lord* William.
Powlett Norton, *Esq.*
Pringle John, *Esq.*

Raymond *Sir* Robert.
Rebow *Sir* Iſaac, *Knt.*
Rich *Sir* Robert.
Roberts Gabriel, *Esq.*

Samwel *Sir* Thomas.
Seymour *Lord* Piercy.
Shannon *Lord Viſc.*
Shute John Barrington, *Esq.*
Sloper William, *Esq.*
Smith Thomas, *Esq.*
Stanhope *Lord* Philip.
Stanhope Charles, *Esq.*
Stanhope *Col.* William, *Esq.*
Stephens Thomas, *Esq.*
Stewart William, *Esq.*
Sutton *Hon.* Richard, *Esq.*

Tenc

Tench *Sir* Fiſher.
Thompſon William, *Eſq.*
Treby George, *Eſq.*
Trelawney John, *Eſq.*
Trevanion John, *Eſq.*

Wade George, *Eſq.*
Wager *Sir* Charles.
Wallis William, *Eſq.*
Wallop John, *Eſq.*
Warrender *Sir* George, *Bart.*
Weſt *Hon.* John, *Eſq.*
Weſtfaling Herbert Rudhal, *Eſq.*
Wheat *Sir* Thomas.
Whichcot *Sir* Francis.
White Thomas, *Eſq.*
Whitmore William, *Eſq.*
Wittewrong *Sir* John, *Bart.*
Wills Charles, *Eſq.*
Worſley *Sir* Robert, *Bart.*
Wylde Thomas, *Eſq.*

Yonge William, *Eſq.*

Againſt the BILL.

ALLANSON Charles, *Eſq.*
Anſtis John, *Eſq.*
Archer Andrew, *Eſq.*
Anſtruther Philip, *Eſq.*
Aſhe Edward, *Eſq.*
Aſhe William, *Eſq.*
Aſtley *Sir* Jacob.
Aylmer *Lord.*

Bacon Waller, *Eſq.*
Baker George, *Eſq.*
Bampfield *Sir* Coppleſton Warwick.
Barrymore *Earl of.*
Baſſet John, *Eſq.*
Bathurſt Benjamin, *Eſq.*
Beaumont *Sir* George.

Bertie *Hon.* James, *Esq.*
Bertie *Hon.* Henry, *Esq.*
Betts William, *Esq.*
Bland *Sir* John.
Blundill *Sir* Montague.
Booth *Hon.* Langham, *Esq.*
Bracebridge Samuel, *Esq.*
Bramſton Thomas, *Esq.*
Bray William, *Esq.*
Bridgeman *Sir* Orlando.
Briggs *Sir* Humphrey.
Briſtow Robert, *Esq.*
Brittiffe Robert, *Esq.*
Broderick Thomas, *Esq.*
Bromley William, *Esq.*
Bulkeley *Sir* Dewey.
Bunbury *Sir* Henry.
Butler James, *Esq.*

Calmady Shilſton, *Esq.*
Calthorpe Reynolds, *Esq.*
Carew *Sir* William.
Carew Nicholas, *Esq.*
Carteret *Hon.* Edward, *Esq.*
Cartwright Thomas, *Esq.*
Caſtlemain *Lord Viſc.*
Chaſin George, *Esq.*
Chaplin *Sir* Robert.
Chiſwel Richard, *Esq.*
Churchill *Col.* Charles, *Esq.*
Clarke Godfrey, *Esq.*
Clarke George, *L. L. D.*
Clayton William, *Esq.*
Cocks James, *Esq.*
Codrington John, *Esq.*
Coffin Richard, *Esq.*
Colepeper *Sir* Thomas.
Colemore William, *Esq.*
Compton *Hon.* Spencer, *Esq.*
Conyers John, *Esq.*
Conyers Thomas, *Esq.*
Cope *Sir* Jonathan, *Bart.*
Cope *Sir* John, *Knt*
Corance Clement, *Esq.*
Corbet Andrew, *Esq.*
Coryton *Sir* John.
Cotton *Sir* John Hynde.

Courtney *Sir* William.
Cowper Spencer, *Esq.*
Cox Charles, *Esq.*
Croſs *Sir* Thomas.
Curzon John, *Esq.*

D'aeth *Sir* Thomas, *Bart.*
Davers *Sir* Robert.
Delaune William, *Esq.*
Denton Alexander, *Esq.*
Deſbouverie *Sir* Edward.
Devereux *Hon.* Price, *Esq.*
Digby *Hon.* John, *Esq.*
Diſton Joſiah, *Esq.*
Doddington George, *Esq.*
Doddington George, *Jun. Esq.*
Dowdeſwell William, *Esq.*
Drake *Sir* Francis Henry.
Drake Montague Gerrard, *Esq.*
Drax Henry, *Esq.*
Drew Francis, *Esq.*
Ducane Richard, *Esq.*

Eden John, *Esq.*
Edgcomb Richard, *Esq.*
Elford Jonathan, *Esq.*
Elwes *Sir* Harvey.
England George, *Esq.*
Earnly *Sir* Edward.
Evelyn George, *Esq.*

Fane *Hon.* John, *Esq.*
Fermannagh *Lord Viſc.*
Finch *Lord.*
Fleetwood John, *Esq.*
Flemming Richard, *Esq.*
Foley Richard, *Esq.*
Foley Thomas, *Esq.*
Forreſter William, *Esq.*
Frankland Thomas, *Esq.*
Freeman Ralph, *Esq.*
Fuller Samuel Pargiter, *Esq.*
Furneſe *Sir* Robert.

Gibbon Shilips, *Esq.*
Godolphin Sidney, *Esq.*
Godfrey Peter, *Esq.*

Gough *Sir* Richard, *Knt.*
Gould Nathaniel, *Esq.*
Grevile *Hon.* Doddington, *Esq.*
Groſvenor *Sir* Richard.
Gwyn Francis, *Esq.*

Hales *Sir* Thomas.
Hanmer *Sir* Thomas.
Harvey Edward, *Esq.*
Harvey Daniel, *Esq.*
Hedworth John, *Esq.*
Hellier William, *Esq.*
Herbert James, *Esq.*
Herne Joſeph, *Esq.*
Heron Henry, *Esq.*
Hervey *Lord* Carr.
Heyſham Robert, *Esq.*
Heyſham William, *Esq.*
Hickman *Sir* Willoughby, *Bart.*
Hill Samuel, *Esq.*
Hilſborough *Lord Viſc.*
Hobart *Sir* John
Honeywood Robert, *Esq.*
Hopkins John, *Esq.*
Howe *Sir* Richard.
Hutcheſon Archibald, *Esq.*
Hyde Robert, *Esq.*

Janſſen *Sir* Theodore.
Jefferies Edward, *Esq.*
Jekyl *Sir* Joſeph.
Jenkinſon *Sir* Thomas Banks.
Jennings *Sir* John.
Jennings James, *Esq.*
Jordan William, *Esq.*
Iſham *Sir* Juſtinian, *Bart.*

Kaye *Sir* Arthur, *Bart.*
Keymis *Sir* Charles, *Bart.*
Knight William, *Esq.*
Kynaſton Corbet, *Esq.*

Lade John, *Esq.*
Lambert Edward, *Esq.*
Lawſon Gilfrid, *Esq.*
Lawſon *Sir* Wilfrid.
Lee *Sir* Thomas.

Leiceſter *Sir* Francis.
Leigh *Hon.* Charles, *Esq.*
Levinz William, *Esq.*
Lewen *Sir* William.
Lewis Thomas, *Esq.* (*Soberton*)
Liſter Thomas, *Esq.*
Long *Sir* James, *Bart.*
Longueville Charles, *Esq.*
Lowther James, *Esq.*
Lumley *Hon.* Henry, *Esq.*
Lutwyche Thomas, *Esq.*

Maſters Thomas, *Esq.*
Mead *Sir* Nathaniel.
Medlicot James, *Esq.*
Methuen Paul, *Esq.*
Mews *Sir* Peter.
Miller Thomas, *Esq.*
Molineux Samuel, *Esq.*
Monſon *Sir* William.
Montague James, *Esq.*
Montgomery John, *Esq.*
Morrice Humphrey, *Esq.*
Moſtyn *Sir* Roger, *Bart.*

Naylor George, *Esq.*
Neville Grey, *Esq.*
Newland William, *Esq.*
Nicholas Edward, *Esq.*
Noble Thomas, *Esq.*
Norris *Sir* John.
Norris Edward, *Esq.*
North *Hon.* Dudley, *Esq.*
Northey *Sir* Edward.
Northey William, *Esq.*
Northmore William, *Jun. Esq.*

Packer Robert, *Esq.*
Packington *Sir* John.
Paget *Lord.*
Palmer *Sir* Jeffery.
Palmer Thomas, *Esq.*
Parker *Sir* Philip.
Paſke Thomas, *L. L. D.*
Petoe William, *Esq.*
Pitt George, *Esq.*
Pitt Robert, *Esq.*

Pitt Thomas, *Esq.*
Pulteney William, *Esq.*

Randyl Morgan, *Esq.*
Raſhleigh Philip, *Esq.*
Read *Sir* Thomas, *Bart.*
Reynell Richard, *Esq.*
Reynolds James, *Esq.*
Rider *Sir* Barnham.
Roberts John, *Esq.*
Rogers Nathaniel, *Esq.*
Rogers *Sir* John, *Bart.*
Rolt Edward, *Esq.*
Rowney Thomas, *Esq.*
Rudge John, *Esq.*

Sandford *Sir* Richard, *Bart.*
Sawbridge Jacob, *Esq.*
Scawen *Sir* Thomas, *Knt.*
Scott James, *Jun. Esq.*
Seabright *Sir* Thomas Saunders.
Selwyn *Col.* John, *Esq.*
Shepard Samuel, *Esq.*
Shippen William, *Esq.*
Shuttleworth Richard, *Esq.*
Smelt Leonard, *Esq.*
Smithſon Hugh, *Esq.*
Smith John, *Esq.*
Smith James, *Esq.*
Snell John, *Esq.*
Sondes Edward *Lord Viſc.*
Stanwix *Major General* Thomas.
Steel *Sir* Richard, *Knt.*
Stephens William, *Esq.*
Stepney *Sir* Thomas.
Stonehouſe *Sir* John, *Bart.*
St. Quinton *Sir* William.
Strangeways Thomas, *Esq.*
Stradling *Sir* Edward.
Strickland *Sir* William, *Bart.*
Swanton Francis, *Esq.*

Talbot John Ivory, *Esq.*
Thompſon *Sir* William.
Townſhend *Hon.* Horatio, *Esq.*
Travers Samuel, *Esq.*
Trenchard George, *Esq.*

APPENDIX.

Tuffnell Samuel, *Esq.*
Turner *Sir* Charles, *Knt.*
Turner *Sir* Edward, *Knt.*
Turner Cholmondley, *Esq.*
Tyrconnel John *Lord Viſc.*
Tyrwhit *Sir* John, *Bart.*

Vaughan Richard, *Esq.*
Vernon Thomas, *Esq.*
Vernon Thomas, *Esq.*
Urquhart Alexander, *Esq.*

Walcot Humphrey, *Esq.*
Walpole Robert, *Esq.*
Walpole Galfridus, *Esq.*
Walpole Horatio, *Esq.*
Walter *Sir* John, *Bart.*
Ward *Sir* John,
Ward John, *Esq.*
Ward William, *Esq.*
Weaver John, *Esq.*
Webb *Leiutenant General* John.
Wentworth *Hon.* Thomas, *Esq.*
Wentworth Thomas, *Esq.*
Weſtern Thomas, *Esq.*
Willoughby *Hon.* Francis, *Esq.*
Wilmer William, *Esq.*
Wilſon Daniel, *Esq.*
Windſor *Hon.* Dixey, *Esq.*
Worſley James, *Esq.*
Wortley *Hon.* Edward Montague, *Esq.*
Wrightſon William, *Esq.*
Wykes William, *Esq.*
Wyndham *Sir* William, *Bart.*
Wynne Thomas, *Esq.*

York John, *Esq.*

APPENDIX.

Copy of a Letter from his late Majeſty, King George *the Firſt, to the King of* Spain, *relating to the Reſtitution of* Gibraltar. [See Vol. I. p. 384.]

Sir, My Brother,

'I HAVE learned with great Satisfaction, by the Report of my Ambaſſador, at your Court, that your Majeſty is, at laſt, reſolved to remove the Obſtacles that have for ſome Time delay'd the entire Accompliſhment of our Union. Since, from the Confidence which your Majeſty expreſſes towards me, I may look upon the Treaties which have been in Queſtion between us as re-eſtabliſhed; and that, accordingly, the Inſtruments, neceſſary for the carrying on the Trade of my Subjects, will be delivered out:' I do no longer balance to aſſure your Majeſty of my Readineſs to ſatisfy you, with regard to your Demand touching the Reſtitution of *Gibraltar*; promiſing you to make uſe of the firſt favourable Opportunity to regulate this Article, with the Conſent of my Parliament. And to give your Majeſty a farther Proof of my Affection, I have ordered my Ambaſſador, as ſoon as the Negotiation with which he has been charged ſhall be finiſhed, to propoſe to your Majeſty new Engagements to be entered into, in Concert, and jointly with *France*, ſuitable to the preſent Conjuncture, not only for ſtrengthening our Union, but alſo for ſecuring the Tranquility of *Europe*: Your Majeſty may be perſuaded that I, on my Part, will ſhew all the Facility imaginable, promiſing myſelf that you will do the ſame, for the mutual Benefit of our Kingdoms, being moſt perfectly,

Sir, My Brother,

Your Majeſty's Good Brother,

June 1, 1721.

GEORGE, R.

To the King of Spain
Monſieur my Brother.

From

APPENDIX.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, *of* Saturday, March 4, 1726-7.

Whitehall March 4.

'THIS Day Mr. *Inglis*, Marſhal and Aſſiſtant 'Maſter of the Ceremonies, in the Abſence of Sir 'Clement Cotterell, Maſter of the Ceremonies, went by his 'Majeſty's Order to *M. de Palm*, the Emperor's Reſident, 'and acquainted him, that he having, in the Audience he 'had of the King on *Thurſday* laſt, delivered into the Hands 'of his Majeſty a Memorial highly injurious to his Ma-'jeſty's Honour, and the Dignity of his Crown; in which 'Memorial he has forgot all Regard to Truth, and the 'Reſpect due to his ſacred Majeſty; and the ſaid Memorial 'being alſo publickly diſperſed next Morning in Print, 'together with a Letter from the *Count de Sinzendorff* to 'him the ſaid *Palm*, ſtill more inſolent and more injurious, 'if poſſible, than the Memorial; his Majeſty had there-'upon commanded him to declare to him the ſaid Reſi-'dent, *Palm*, that his Majeſty looked upon him no longer 'as a public Miniſter, and required him forthwith to depart 'out of this Kingdom.' [See the Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons on this Affair. Vol. I. p. 390.]

The Memorial and the Letter abovementioned, are as follows:

Memorial preſented, in Latin, *to the King of* Great Britain, *by* M. de Palm, *the Imperial Reſident, upon the Speech which his Britannic Majeſty made to the two Houſes of his Parliament, on the* $\frac{17}{28}$ *of* January, 1726-7.

Moſt Serene and Potent KING,

AS ſoon as the Speech made by your Majeſty to the Parliament of *Great Britain* now aſſembled, came to the Knowledge of his Imperial and Catholic Majeſty, my moſt gracious Maſter; he was ſtruck with the utmoſt Aſtoniſhment, that your Majeſty could ſuffer yourſelf to be prevailed upon to declare from the Royal Throne, to that moſt renowned Nation, in a manner hitherto unheard of, as certain and undoubted Facts, ſeveral Things, ſome of which are ſtrained in that Speech to a wrong Senſe, ſome are

are entirely diſtant from the Intentions of his Imperi and Catholic Majeſty; and laſtly, (which affect muc more ſenſibly than all the reſt) ſome Things abſolutely voi of all Foundation.

For as to what regards the Peace concluded at *Vienn* with the moſt Serene King of *Spain*, who can forbear be ing aſtoniſhed, that this very Peace, which is built on th Quadruple Alliance ſigned at *London*, and other Treatie contracted with your Majeſty, as its ſolid and ſole Foun dation; and for the obtaining of which Peace, your Ma jeſty, together with your Allies, waged ſo bloody, ſo long and ſo glorious a War, and took yourſelf ſo much Pains t procure, ſhould now be alledged by your Majeſty as a juſ Ground of Complaint, and ſhould be made uſe of as a Pre tence for theſe Things, which hitherto your Miniſters hav been doing in all Parts, to the great Detriment of th Emperor and the Empire, and the public Tranquillity, an ſhould be repreſented by your Majeſty to the *Britiſh* Nation with ſo much Animoſity againſt the Emperor and King o *Spain*, as a Violation of Treaties.

After complaining of the Peace made at *Vienna*, Com plaint is likewiſe made of the Treaty of Commerce en tered into with *Spain*, which is calculated to promote the mu tual and lawful Advantages of the Subjects of both Parties which is agreeable to the Law of Nations, and to the Cuſtom of all People in Amity with each other; which can in n Reſpect be of any Prejudice to the *Britiſh* Nation, whethe we regard the Situation of the Countries, or the particula Nature of the Trade, and which is not in the leaſt repug nant to the Treaties made with *Great Britain*. So that i this Treaty be conſidered with a Mind free from Prejudice and from all Deſign of inflaming the Nation, there will remain no Pretence to ſay, that this Treaty can be grievou or hurtful to a Nation for which his Imperial Majeſty has the greateſt Affection and Eſteem, and whoſe glorious Ex ploits and important Succours no Time will efface out o his Memory.

The other Head of Complaint, which contains ſuch Things as are void of all Foundation, relates principally to that imaginary Alliance which in the Speech is called Offenſive, and is there ſuppoſed to have been made againſt your Majeſty, between the Emperor and King of *Spain*. But it will not only appear how groundleſs and frivolous this Suppoſition is, from the Offer lately made by his Im perial and Catholic Majeſty, of entering into a Convention, *De ſe mutuo non Offendendo*, but will be entirely refuted by the Conſideration of the Tenor of the *Treaty of Alliance*

and

and Friendſhip itſelf made with the Crown of *Spain*, and communicated in its whole Extent to your Majeſty when it was proper; from the Words of which, whether the leaſt Shadow or Appearance of an Offenſive Alliance can be drawn, is ſubmitted to the Judgment of the whole World.

Another Part of the Complaint relates to the *Secret Articles made in Favour of the Pretender*, whereof your Majeſty aſſerts that you have *certain* and *undoubted Informations*, by which Articles it ſhould have been agreed to ſet the Pretender on the Throne of *Great Britain*. With what View, on what Motive, and to what Purpoſe, theſe Informations, founded on the falſeſt Reports, were repreſented to the People of *Great Britain*, is not only eaſy to be underſtood by his Imperial and Catholic Majeſty, but is obvious to the meaneſt Capacity. But ſince the inviolable Dignity and Honour of ſuch Great Princes cannot ſuffer that Aſſertions of this Nature, intirely unſupported by Truth, ſhould be advanced from the Royal Throne to the whole Nation, and to all Mankind; his Sacred Imperial and Catholic Majeſty has expreſsly commanded me, that I ſhould declare to your Majeſty, and to the whole Kingdom of *Great Britain*, how highly he thinks himſelf affronted thereby, ſolemnly affirming, upon his Imperial Word, that there exiſts no ſecret Article nor Convention whatſoever, which contains, or can tend to prove the leaſt Tittle of what has been alledged.

But that the ſecret Deſigns, which lie concealed under a Conduct 'till this Time unheard of, may more manifeſtly appear, it muſt be obſerved, that the Time is purpoſely taken for doing this, when a Negotiation is on Foot at *Paris*, for compoſing the Differences which have ariſen without any Fault of his Imperial and Catholic Majeſty; which Negotiation ſufficiently ſhews how much his Imperial and Catholic Majeſty is at all Times inclined to Peace, and to the religious Obſervation of his Treaties.

As to what is ſaid of *Gibraltar*, and concerning the Siege thereof, under which in the Speech it is inſinuated, as if ſome other Deſign was concealed; the Hoſtilities notoriouſly committed in the *Indies* and elſewhere, againſt the King of *Spain*, in Violation of Treaties, ſeem to have given a very juſt Occaſion to the King of *Spain* for attempting that Siege. But as to the Intentions and Engagements of the Emperor upon that Article, it is eaſy to ſee what they are, by the Treaty abovementioned, which has been communicated.

As to what is ſaid in the laſt Place, concerning the *Oſtend*

Trade,

Trade, which the Goodneſs of the Catholic King induced him to favour, (being bound by no Treaty) after he had been apprized of the juſt Reaſons for the Eſtabliſhment of it, various Expedients for a Compoſition have been propoſed, not only at the *Hague*, but even lately at *Paris* leſt this harmleſs Method of providing for the Security of the Barrier, ſhould prove an Obſtacle to the common Friendſhip of Neighbouring Powers.

Which Things being thus, the Injury offered to Truth, the Honour and Dignity of his Sacred Imperial and Catholic Majeſty require, that they ſhould be expoſed to your Majeſty, to the Kingdom of *Great Britain*, and to the World. And his Sacred Imperial Majeſty demands that Reparation which is due to him by all manner of Right, for the great Injuries which have been done him by theſe many Imputations.

A LETTER *from the* Count de Sinzendorf, *Chancellor of the Court to his Imperial and Catholic Majeſty, ſent to* Monſ. de Palm, *the Emperor's Reſident at the Court of* Great Britain, *dated from* Vienna *the* 20*th of* February, 1727.

HIS Imperial and Catholic Majeſty judges it indiſpenſably neceſſary, upon the Step which has been lately taken in the Country where you are, to ſend you in the Diſpatch here annex'd, a Memorial, which you are to preſent to the King of *Great Britain*, and to publiſh afterwards, that the whole Nation may be acquainted with it, whilſt Anſwers are preparing to certain Pamphlets publiſhed before the opening of the Parliament.

It is eaſy to ſee that the Speech was made for no Purpoſe, but to excite the Nation to a Rupture, and open War with the Emperor and *Spain*, and to make the Parliament approve the precipitate and burthenſome Meaſures which the Government has taken for private Ends, but too well known: That not only unwarrantable Inferences and Pretences have been made uſe of, but that manifeſt Falſhoods have been boldly advanced for indiſputable Facts, a Proceeding never ſeen before among Powers who ought to reſpect each other, when in the moſt flagrant Wars; from whence

whence it ought to be presumed, that the King, whose Sacred Mouth ought to be an Oracle of Truth, must have been himself abused by the Suggestions and false Reports of those, who have the Honour to possess his Confidence; and who think it their Interest to inflame, by these Means, both the Prince and the Nation, for their own private Views and Personal Preservation, without any Regard to the Honour of the Majesty of the Throne, or to the Evils which may result from hence to their own Country, and to all *Europe*.

For these Purposes they establish a Foundation, and lay down as a certain Fact, that there is a positive Article in the Treaty of Alliance between the Emperor and the King of *Spain*, to place the Pretender on the Throne of *Great Britain*, and to invade that Kingdom with open Force; and this they do, a few Days after the Minister Plenipotentiary of the Catholick King had, before his Departure from *London*, in a Memorial presented in the Sacred Name of his Master, publicly and in the most authentic Manner, disavowed these Imputations, which sufficiently prove the Emperor's Disavowal of the same, since the pretended Article was equally imputed to the two Powers, and one of them could not have stipulated any thing in the same Treaty without the other. Besides which, it is to be considered, that six Months ago, upon the first Reports of these false Suppositions, the Emperor and King of *Spain*, in order to silence them, proposed a formal Act, *de non offendendo*, into which all the Allies on one Side and the other might enter, and which would effectually have secured the peaceable Possessions, of each of the Powers contracting, either in the Treaty of *Vienna*, or that of *Hanover*, 'till such Time as it had been possible by one general Treaty to remove and quiet the Complaints of all Sides: But these Proposals were rendered ineffectual, by the same Views of those Persons, who chose rather to hinder the peaceable Effects of these just Designs, by Attacks and open Hostilities.

It is further known, and it is even notorious by the solemn Communication made to the King of *Great Britain*, of the Treaty of Peace concluded at *Vienna*, between the Emperor and King of *Spain*, that the Treaty of the Quadruple Alliance, made at *London* the 2d of *August* 1718, has been laid down as the unalterable Basis of their Peace; and that all the Articles of this Quadruple Alliance are therein confirmed and corroborated, as if they had been inserted anew: How then can it be supposed, and even given out as a Matter of Fact, that by another Secret Treaty, signed

on the ſame Day, Conditions have been eſtabliſhed, and Engagements taken entirely repugnant to the ſame?]

Such a Thing cannot be advanced, without inſulting and injuring, in the moſt outrageous Manner, the Majeſty of the two contracting Powers, who have a Right to demand a ſignal Reparation and Satisfaction proportioned to the Enormity of the Affront, which equally intereſts their Honour, and that Faith which ought always to be reſpected among Sovereign Princes.

But if thoſe who endeavour to avail themſelves of ſuch feigned Recriminations, and to excuſe themſelves from the Blame which their raſh and turbulent Meaſures deſerve, imagine that this unjuſtifiable Conduct may at laſt oblige the Emperor and King of *Spain*, to repel Force by Force, and to defend themſelves by all thoſe Means which God has put into their Hands, from the Miſchiefs with which they are threatened, and from the Inſults and Attacks which have been actually made uſe of againſt them, ſo far that it has been even attempted to engage the *Ottoman Porte* in theſe unparallelled Deſigns; at leaſt, ought they not to publiſh as antecedent Facts, thoſe Things which they have Reaſon to apprehend may be the Conſequence of a War, into which they will have forced theſe two Powers to enter in their own juſt Defence?

The Emperor and King of *Spain* hope however from the Divine Goodneſs, and from the Wiſdom of Perſons leſs prejudiced, and leſs paſſionate, that more mature and ſerious Reflections will be made, in order to reſtore amicably the public Tranquillity, and to ſave all *Europe* from the Misfortunes of a War, ſtirred up by Motives ſo trifling and groundleſs, which can tend to nothing but the Deſtruction of the Subject, of his Eſtate, and of his Commerce.

Their Majeſties, the Emperor and the King of *Spain*, ardently deſire the Bleſſing of Peace, and to obſerve their Treaties with all their Allies, with the ſtricteſt Fidelity: But as a mutual Contract can ſubſiſt no longer on one Side, than while it remains unbroken on the other; the evil Conſequences of a Rupture, if that ſhould happen, ought to be imputed to thoſe alone who have been the Authors of thoſe Infractions.

I have the Emperor's expreſs Order to write this to you in his Name, that you may be able to deſtroy the Falſhoods and Calumnies, which have been charged on the high contracting Parties of the Treaty of *Vienna*, who have no other View, but that of making Peace between themſelves, without hurting any one elſe. *I am*, &c.

SINZENDORF.

APPENDIX.

A LIST *of the* MEMBERS, *who voted for granting* 115,000 l. *for making good the Arrears of the* CIVIL LIST, April 23, 1729. [See Vol. II. p. 49.]

ANDREWS Townſhend, *Eſq.*
Arundel *Hon.* Richard, *Eſq.*
Aſhe Edward, *Eſq.*
Aſhburnham *Sir* William.

Bacon *Sir* Edmund, *Bart.* (*of Gillingham*)
Bacon Waller, *Eſq.*
Baker Hercules, *Eſq.*
Beauclerck *Lord Vere.*
Beauclerk *Lord* William.
Berkeley *Hon. Col.* Henry, *Eſq.*
Birch John, *Eſq.*
Biſhop *Sir* Cecil, *Bart.*
Bladen *Col.* Martin, *Eſq.*
Bladen Thomas, *Eſq.*
Bond Dennis, *Eſq.*
Bradſhaigh *Sir* Roger, *Bart.*
Brereton Thomas, *Eſq.*
Bridgeman *Sir* Orlando, *Bart.*
Briſtow Robert, *Eſq.*
Brittiffe Robert, *Eſq.*
Brodie Alexander, *Eſq.*
Brookſbank Stamp, *Eſq.*
Brudenel *Hon.* James, *Eſq.*
Burchet Joſiah, *Eſq.*
Burrard Paul, *Eſq.*
Byng *Hon.* Pattee, *Eſq.*
Byng *Hon.* Robert, *Eſq.*

Caernarvon *Marquis of.*
Campbell Daniel, *Eſq.*
Campbell *Sir* James, *Bart.*
Campbell *Col.* James, *Eſq.*
Campbell John, *Eſq.*
Campbell John, *Eſq.*
Campbell Patrick, *Eſq.*
Carr William, *Eſq.*

Carey Walter, *Esq.*
Caſtlemain *Lord Viſc.*
Caſwal *Sir* George, *Knt.*
Cavendiſh *Lord* Charles.
Cavendiſh *Lord* James.
Chetwynd Walter, *Esq.*
Chapple William, *Esq.*
Clavering John, *Esq.*
Clayton William, *Esq.* (*Weſtminſter*)
Clayton William, *Esq.* (*Blechingley*)
Clutterbuck Thomas, *Esq.*
Cockburne John, *Esq.*
Collyer *Hon. Captain* Charles, *Esq.*
Conduit John, *Esq.*
Cope *Col.* John, *Esq.*
Coppleſton Thomas, *Esq.*
Corbet William, *Esq.*
Corker Robert, *Esq.*
Cornwallis *Hon.* John, *Esq.*
Cornwallis *Hon.* Stephen, *Esq.*
Cotton *Sir* Robert, *Bart.*
Cracherode Anthony, *Esq.*
Criſpe Thomas, *Esq.*
Croft *Sir* Archer, *Bart.*
Croſs John, *Esq.*
Crowle George, *Esq.*

Darcy *Sir* Conyers, *Knight of the Bath.*
Docminique Paul, *Esq.*
Doddington George, *Esq.*
Downing *Sir* George, *Bart.*
Ducket William, *Esq.*
Dunbar Patrick, *Esq.*
Duncombe Anthony, *Esq.*

Edgecombe Richard, *Esq.*
Edwards Samuel, *Esq.*
Egerton *Col.* William, *Esq.*
Erle Giles, *Esq.*
Erle William Rawlinſon, *Esq.*
Evans *Captain* Richard, *Esq.*
Evelyn John, *Esq.*
Eversfield Charles, *Esq.*
Eyre Robert, *Esq.*

Fane Francis, *Esq.*
Fane *Hon.* John, *Esq.*

Farrington Thomas, *Esq.*
Finch *Lord* Daniel.
Finch *Hon.* Henry, *Esq.*
Finch *Hon.* William, *Esq.*
Fitzwilliams *Lord Viſc.*
Forbes Duncan, *Esq.*
Forteſcue William, *Esq.*
Frankland *Sir* Thomas, *Bart.*

Gage *Sir* William, *Knight of the Bath, and Bart.*
Gage *Lord Viſc.*
Galway *Lord Viſc.*
Gibſon Thomas, *Esq.*
Glanville William, *Esq.*
Glenorchy *Lord Viſc.*
Goddard John, *Esq.*
Gould John, *Esq.*
Gould Nathaniel. *Esq.*
Grant James, *Esq.*
Gregory George, *Esq.*
Griffith John, *Esq.*
Grimſtone *Lord Viſc.*

Hales *Sir* Thomas, *Bart.*
Hales Thomas, *Esq.*
Hamilton Alexander, *Esq.*
Hamilton *Lord* Archibald.
Handaſyde *Col.* Roger.
Harris John, *Esq.*
Harriſon George, *Esq.*
Hartington *Marquis of.*
Heathcote George, *Esq.*
Hedges John, *Esq.*
Herbert Henry Arthur, *Esq.*
Herbert *Hon.* Robert, *Esq.*
Herbert Richard, *Esq.*
Herbert *Hon.* Thomas, *Esq.*
Heron Patrick, *Esq.*
Holland Rogers, *Esq.*
Hope *Col.* John, *Esq.*
Hope Thomas, *Esq.*
Hoſte James, *Esq.*
Hotham *Sir* Charles, *Bart.*
Hoghton *Sir* Henry, *Bart.*
Howard *Hon. Col.* Charles, *Esq.*
Howarth *Sir* Humphrey.
Hucks Robert, *Esq.*
Hughes Edward, *Esq.*

Huxley George, *Esq.*
Hynxman Joſeph, *Esq.*

Jacomb Robert, *Esq.*
Jeniſon Ralph, *Esq.*
Jeſſop William, *Esq.*
Inchequin *Earl of.*
Ingram *Hon.* Henry, *Esq.*

Kelſall Henry, *Esq.*
Knatchbull *Sir* Edward, *Bart.*
Knollys Henry, *Esq.*

Lane *Sir* Richard, *Knt.*
Leathes Carteret, *Esq.*
Lewis Thomas, *Esq.* (*of Soberton*)
Lewis Thomas, *Esq.* (*Radnor*)
Liddell George, *Esq.*
Lloyd Philip, *Esq.*
Lloyd Saliſbury, *Esq.*
Lomax Caleb, *Esq.*
Longueville Charles, *Esq.*
Lowther *Hon.* Anthony, *Esq.*
Lumley *Hon.* James, *Esq.*
Lumley *Hon.* John, *Esq.*
Lyttleton *Sir* Thomas, *Bart.*

Malpas *Lord Viſc.*
Metcalfe James, *Esq.*
Methuen *Sir* Paul, *Knight of the Bath.*
Micklethwaite, *Lord Viſc.*
Middleton *Col.* John, *Esq.*
Mills *Sir* Richard, *Bart.*
Monſon George, *Esq.*
Moreton *Hon.* Matthew Ducie, *Esq.*
Morrice Humphry, *Esq.*
Morgan *Col* Maurice, *Esq.*
Morgan Thomas, *Esq.*
Morgan *Sir* William, *Knight of the Bath.*

Negus Francis, *Esq.*
Nelthorpe James, *Esq.*
Nicoll Charles Gounter, *Esq.*
Norris *Sir* John, *Knt.*
Norton Thomas, *Esq.*

Offley Crew, *Esq.*

APPENDIX.

Onſlow Arthur, *Esq.* (*Speaker*)
Onſlow *Col.* Richard, *Esq.*
Orlebar John, *Esq.*
Oxenden *Sir* George, *Bart.*

Page John, *Esq.*
Palmerſton, *Lord Viſc.*
Parſons Henry, *Esq.*
Pearſe Thomas, *Esq.*
Pelham *Hon.* Henry, *Esq.*
Pelham James, *Esq.*
Pelham Thomas, *Esq.*
Percival, *Lord Viſc.*
Piers William, *Esq.*
Pitt *Col.* John, *Esq.*
Plummer Richard, *Esq.*
Plumtree John, *Esq.*
Polhill David, *Esq.*
Powlet *Lord* Henry.
Powlet *Lord* Naſſau.
Powlet Norton, *Esq.*
Powlet *Lord* William.
Price Uvedale, *Esq.*

Ramſden John, *Esq.*
Read *Col.* George, *Esq.*
Read *Sir* Thomas, *Bart.*
Rich *Sir* Robert, *Bart.*
Robinſon Thomas, *Esq.*

Sabine *Lieutenant General.*
Saunders *Sir* George, *Knt,*
Sayer *Dr.* Exton.
Scot *Col.* James, *Esq.*
Scrope John, *Esq.*
Selwyn Charles, *Esq.*
Selwyn John, *Esq.*
Shannon, *Lord Viſc.*
Shelly *Sir* John, *Bart.*
Shepard James, *Esq.*
Sloper William, *Esq.*
Smelt Leonard, *Esq.*
St. Clair *Hon. Col.*
St. Quintin Matthew Chitty, *Esq.*
Strickland *Sir* William, *Bart.*
Stuart William, *Esq.*

Talbot

Talbot Charles, *Esq.*
Thompſon Edward, *Esq.*
Thompſon *Sir* William, *Knt.*
Thornhill *Sir* James, *Knt.*
Tilſon Chriſtopher, *Esq.*
Towers Chriſtopher, *Esq.*
Towers Thomas, *Esq.*
Townſhend *Hon.* Horatio, *Esq.*
Townſhend *Hon.* Thomas, *Esq.*
Townſhend *Hon. Col.* William, *Esq.*
Tyrrel *Brigadier* James, *Esq.*

Verney *Hon.* John, *Esq.*
Vincent Henry, *Esq.*

Wade *Lieutenant General.*
Wager *Sir* Charles, *Knight of the Bath.*
Walpole *Sir* Robert,
Walter Peter, *Esq.*
Weſtby Wardel George, *Esq.*
White Thomas, *Esq.*
Whitworth Francis, *Esq.*
Williams Hugh, *Esq.*
Williams *Sir* Nicholas, *Knt.*
Willes John, *Esq.*
Willis *Sir* William, *Bart.*
Wills *Sir* Charles, *Knight of the Bath.*
Wilſon Daniel, *Esq.*
Winnington Thomas, *Esq.*
Wyndham *Col.* William, *Esq.*
Wynne Thomas, *Esq.*

Yonge *Sir* William, *Knight of the Bath,*
Yorke *Sir* Philip, *Knt.*

A LIST *of the* MEMBERS, *who voted againſt granting the above Sum of* 115,000 l. *for the* CIVIL LIST.

ABDY *Sir* Robert, *Bart.*
Aiſlabie William, *Esq.*
Aſtley *Sir* John, *Bart.*
Auſten *Sir* Robert, *Bart.*

Bacon Thomas Sclater, *Esq.*
Banks John, *Esq.*
Banks Joſeph, *Esq.*
Barker *Sir* William, *Bart.*
Barnard John, *Esq.*
Bathurſt Peter, *Esq.*
Berkeley *Hon.* George, *Esq.*
Bertie *Hon.* James, *Esq.*
Booth Robert, *Esq.*
Bootle Thomas, *Esq.*
Boone Charles, *Esq.*
Bowes George, *Esq.*
Bowles William, *Esq.*
Bramſton Thomas, *Esq.*

Campbell John, *Esq.* (*Pembrokeſhire*)
Charlton St. John, *Esq.*
Chetwynd *Lord Viſc.*
Chetwynd *Hon.* John, *Esq.*
Child Francis, *Esq.*
Clerke *Sir* Thomas, *Knt.*
Cocks James, *Esq.*
Compton *Hon.* George, *Esq.*
Cornewall Velters, *Esq.*
Cotton *Sir* John Hynde, *Bart.*
Curzon *Sir* Nathaniel, *Bart.*

Danvers Joſeph, *Esq.*
Devereux *Hon.* Price, *Esq.*
Digby *Hon.* Edward, *Esq.*
Dutton *Sir* John, *Bart.*

Ellis *Sir* Richard, *Bart.*
Ekon *Sir* Abraham, *Bart.*
Eyles *Sir* John, *Bart.*

Fenwick Nicholas, *Esq.*
Finch *Hon.* John, *Esq.*
Foley Richard, *Esq.*
Fuller John, *Esq.*
Furneſe *Sir* Robert, *Bart.*
Furneſe Henry, *Esq.*

Gibbon Philips, *Esq.*
Gower *Hon.* William Leveſon, *Esq.*
Gower *Hon.* Baptiſt Leveſon, *Esq.*
Grant *Sir* Archbald, *Bart.*

Grosvenor *Sir* Richard, *Bart.*

Hanbury John, *Esq.*
Harvey Michael, *Esq.*
Hawkins Philip, *Esq.*
Holmes Thomas, *Esq.*
Horner Thomas Strangeways, *Esq.*
Howe John, *Esq.*

Jekyll *Sir* Joseph, *Knt.*

Knight John, *Esq.*

Lawson Gilfrid, *Esq.*
Lawson *Sir* Wilfrid, *Bart.*
Lee *Sir* Thomas, *Bart.*
Lewen George, *Esq.*
Limerick *Lord Visc.*
Lisle Edward, *Esq.*
Lister Richard, *Esq.*
Lowe Samuel, *Esq.*
Lowther James, *Esq.*
Lutwyche Thomas, *Esq.*

Mansell *Hon.* Bussy, *Esq.*
Milner *Sir* William, *Bart.*
Morpeth *Lord Visc.*

Newland William, *Esq.*
Newton *Sir* Michael, *Knight of the Bath.*
Norris John, *Esq.*

Oglethorpe James, *Esq.*

Pacey Henry, *Esq.*
Papillon David, *Esq.*
Parsons Humphry, *Esq.*
Perrot Henry, *Esq.*
Perry Micajah, *Esq.*
Peytoe William, *Esq.*
Philips Erasmus, *Esq.*
Pitt Thomas, *Esq.*
Pleydell Edmund Moreton, *Esq.*
Pulteney Daniel, *Esq.*

Reynell Richard, *Esq.*
Roberts Gabriel, *Esq.*

Ruſhout *Sir* John, *Bart.*

Sambrook John, *Eſq.*
Sandys Samuel, *Eſq.*
Saville *Sir* George, *Bart.*
Saunderſon *Sir* Thomas Lumley, *Knight of the Bath.*
Scawen Thomas, *Eſq.*
Sebright *Sir* Thomas, *Bart.*
Shippen William, *Eſq.*
Shirebey *Hon.* Robert, *Eſq.*
Shuttleworth Richard, *Eſq.*
Stanhope Charles, *Eſq.*
Stanley *Sir* Edward, *Bart.*
Sutton *Sir* Robert, *Knight of the Bath.*

Taylor Joſeph, *Eſq.*
Trelawney Edward, *Eſq.*
Tufton Sackville, *Eſq.*
Tyrconnel *Lord Viſc.*

Vane *Lord Viſc.*
Vane *Hon.* Henry, *Eſq.*
Vernon *Captain* Edward, *Eſq.*
Vyner Robert, *Eſq.*

Walden *Lord* Henry.
Waller Edmund, *Eſq.*
Waller Harry, *Eſq.*
Ward John, *Eſq.*
Wardour William, *Eſq.*
Weaver John, *Eſq.*
Worſley James, *Eſq.*
Wortley Edward Montague, *Eſq.*
Wyndham Thomas, *Eſq.*
Wyndham *Sir* William, *Bart.*

APPENDIX.

A LIST *of the* MEMBERS *who voted for granting the Sum of* 241,259 l. 1s. 3 d. *for defraying the Expence of* 12,000 Heſſian *Troops, in the Pay of* Great Britain, *for the Year* 1730.

For the BILL.

ALSTON *Sir* Rowland.
Andrews Townſhend, *Eſq.*
Arſcot Arthur, *Eſq.*
Anſtruther *Sir* John.
Anſtruther *Col.* Philip, *Eſq.*
Arundel *Hon.* Richard, *Eſq.*
Aſhe Edward, *Eſq.*
Bacon *Sir* Edmund (*Gillingham*)
Bacon Waller, *Eſq.*
Baker *Capt.* Hercules, *Eſq.*
Barrington *Sir* John.
Beauclerk *Lord* William.
Berkeley *Hon.* Henry, *Eſq.*
Bladen Thomas, *Eſq.*
Bladen Martin, *Eſq.*
Bowles William, *Eſq.*
Bradſhaigh *Sir* Roger.
Bridgman *Sir* Orlando.
Briſtow Robert, *Eſq.*
Brodie Alexander, *Eſq.*
Brookſbank Stamp, *Eſq.*
Brudenell *Hon.* James, *Eſq.*
Burchett Joſiah, *Eſq.*
Burrard Paul, *Eſq.*
Burrell Peter, *Eſq.*
Butler James, *Eſq.*
Byng *Hon.* Pattee, *Eſq.*

Byng *Hon.* Robert, *Esq.*

Campbell John *Esq.* (*Pembrokeſhire*)
Campbell Daniel, *Esq.*
Cambell *Sir* James.
Campbell *Col.* John.
Campbell John, *Jun. Esq.*
Carey Walter, *Esq.*
Carnarvan *Marquis of.*
Caſtlemain Richard *Lord Viſc.*
Caſwell *Sir* George, *Knt.*
Cavendiſh *Lord* Charles.
Churchill *Brigadier General* Charles.
Clavering John, *Esq.*
Clayton William, *Esq.*
Clerke *Sir* Thomas, *Knt.*
Cliſton *Sir* Robert.
Clutterbuck Thomas, *Esq.*
Cockburn John, *Esq.*
Cope *Col.* John, *Esq.*
Cope *Sir* John.
Copleſton Thomas, *Esq.*
Corbet William, *Esq.*
Cornwallis *Hon.* John, *Esq.*
Cornwallis *Hon.* Stephen, *Esq.*
Cracherode Anthony, *Esq.*
Criſpe Thomas, *Esq.*
Croft *Sir* Archer.
Croſſe John, *Esq.*
Crowle George, *Esq.*
Cunningham Henry, *Esq.*

Darcy *Sir* Conyers, *Knight of the Bath.*
Dalrymple *Capt.* John.
Dalrymple *Col.* William.
Docminicque Paul, *Esq.*
Doddington George, *Esq.*
Douglas *Col.* John, *Esq.*
Douglas Archibald, *Esq.*
Drake *Sir* Francis Henry.
Drax Henry, *Esq.*
Drummond John, *Esq.*
Ducket *Major* William.
Dunbar Patrick, *Esq.*
Duncombe Anthony, *Esq.*

Egdecombe Richard, *Esq.*

Edwards Samuel, *Esq.*
Egerton *Col.* William.
Erle Giles, *Esq.*
Erle *Capt.* William Rawlinſon.
Erſkine *Capt.* Thomas.
Evans *Capt.* Richard.
Evelyn John, *Esq.*
Eversfield Charles, *Esq.*
Eyles *Sir* John.
Eyles *Sir* Joſeph.
Eyles *Capt.* Francis.

Fane Francis, *Esq.*
Farrington Thomas, *Esq.*
Finch *Hon.* Henry, *Esq.*
Finch *Hon.* William, *Esq.*
Fitzwilliams *Lord Viſc.*
Forbes Duncan, *Esq.*
Forteſcue William, *Esq.*
Frankland *Sir* Thomas.

Gage *Lord Viſc.*
Gage *Sir* William, *Knight of the Bath, and Bart.*
Gibſon Thomas, *Esq.*
Glenorchy *Lord Viſc.*
Goddard John, *Esq.*
Gould Nathaniel, *Esq.*
Gould John, *Esq.*
Grant James, *Esq.*
Gregory George, *Esq.*
Griffith *Capt.* John, *Esq.*
Grimſton William, *Lord Viſc.*

Hales *Sir* Thomas.
Hales Thomas, *Esq.*
Hamilton Alexander, *Esq.*
Hamilton *Lord* Arichibald.
Harris John, *Esq.*
Harriſon George, *Esq.*
Harriſon Thomas, *Esq.*
Hedges John, *Esq.*
Herbert *Hon.* Robert, *Esq.*
Heron Patrick, *Esq.*
Hervey *Lord* John.
Hinxman Joſeph, *Esq.*
Hoghton *Sir* Henry.
Holland Rogers, *Esq.*

Hoſte James, *Esq.*
Hotham *Sir* Charles.
Howard *Col.* Charles, *Esq.*
Howarth *Sir* Humphry, *Knt.*
Hucks William, *Esq.*
Hucks Robert, *Esq.*
Hughes Edward, *Esq.*
Huxley George, *Esq.*

Jacomb Robert, *Esq.*
Jeniſon Ralph, *Esq.*
Jennings *Sir* John, *Knt.*
Jeſſop William, *Esq.*
Ingram *Hon.* Henry, *Esq.*

Kelſal Henry, *Esq.*
King *Hon.* John, *Esq.*
Knatchbull *Sir* Edward.
Knight John, *Esq.*
Knight Bulſtrode Peachey, *Esq.*
Knollys Henry, *Esq.*

Lane *Sir* Richard, *Knt.*
Leathes Carteret, *Esq.*
Lee William, *Esq.*
Lewis Thomas, *Esq.* (*Radnor*)
Liddel George, *Esq.*
Lloyd *Major* Philip.
Lloyd Saluſbury, *Esq.*
Lookyer Charles, *Esq.*
Longueville Charles, *Esq.*
Lumley *Hon.* James, *Esq.*
Lumley *Hon.* John, *Esq.*
Lyttleton *Sir* Thomas.

Malpas *Lord Viſc.*
Manners *Lord* William.
Martin Thomas, *Esq.*
Metcalfe James, *Esq.*
Micklethwaite *Lord Viſc.*
Middleton *Col.* John, *Esq.*
Mill *Sir* Richard.
Milner *Sir* William.
Monro *Sir* Robert.
Monſon George, *Esq.*
Moore Robert, *Esq.*
Morgan *Col.* Maurice, *Esq.*

Morrice Humphrey, *Esq.*
Morton *Hon.* Matthew Ducie, *Esq.*
Murray John, *Esq.*

Nelthorp James, *Esq.*
Nicoll Charles Gounter, *Esq.*
Norris *Sir* John, *Knt.*
Norton *Col.* Thomas, *Esq.*

Onſlow *Col.* Richard, *Esq.*
Orlebar John, *Esq.*
Owen William, *Esq.*
Oxenden *Sir* George.

Palmerſton *Lord Viſc.*
Papillon David, *Esq.*
Parker *Sir* Philip.
Parſons Henry, *Esq.*
Pearſe Thomas, *Esq.*
Pelham *Hon.* Henry, *Esq.*
Pelham Thomas, *Esq.* (*Lewis*)
Pelham Thomas, *Esq.*
Pelham James, *Esq.*
Pelham Thomas, *Jun. Esq.*
Percival *Lord Viſc.*
Piers *Col.* William, *Esq.*
Pitt Thomas, *Esq.*
Plumtree John, *Esq.*
Polhill David, *Esq.*
Pottinger Richard, *Esq.*
Powlett *Lord* Harry.
Powlett *Lord* Naſſau.
Powlett Norton, *Sen. Esq.*
Powlett *Col.* Charles Armand, *Esq.*
Powlett William, *Esq,*
Pulteney *Col.* Henry, *Esq.*

Read *Sir* Thomas.
Reade *Col.* George, *Esq.*
Rich *Sir* Robert.
Roberts Gabriel, *Esq.*

St. Quintin Matthew Chitty, *Esq.*
Sabine *Lieutenant General.*
Saunders *Sir* George, *Knt.*
Sayer Exton, *L. L. D.*
Scrope John, *Esq.*

Scott James, *Jun. Esq.*
Scott *Col.* James, *Esq.*
Selwyn John, *Esq.*
Selwyn Charles, *Esq.*
Shelley *Sir* John.
Sheppard *Sir* James, *Knt.*
Sinclair *Col.* James, *Esq.*
Sloper William, *Esq.*
Smelt Leonard, *Esq.*
Stanhope Charles, *Esq.*
Stert Arthur, *Esq.*
Stiles Benjamin Haſkins, *Esq.*
Strickland *Sir* William.
Sutherland *Hon.* William, *Esq.*
Sutton *General* Richard, *Esq.*

Talbot Charles, *Esq.*
Thompſon Edward, *Esq.*
Thornhill *Sir* James, *Knt.*
Tilſon Chriſtopher, *Esq.*
Towers Thomas, *Esq.*
Townſhend *Hon.* Horatio, *Esq.*
Townſhend *Hon.* William, *Esq.*
Townſhend *Hon.* Thomas, *Esq.*
Treby George, *Esq.*
Trelawney *Sir* John.
Trenchard George, *Esq.*
Turner *Sir* Charles, *Knt. and Bart.*
Tyrrel *Brigadier* James.

Verney *Hon.* John, *Esq.*
Vincent Henry, *Esq.*

Wade *General* George,
Wager *Sir* Charles.
Walpole *Sir* Robert.
Walpole Horatio, *Esq.*
Walter Peter, *Esq.*
Weſtby Wardell George, *Esq.*
White Thomas, *Esq.*
Whitworth Francis, *Esq.*
Willis John, *Esq.*
Williams *Sir* Nicholas, *Bart.*
Williams Hugh, *Esq.*
Willis *Sir* William.
Willis *Sir* Charles, *Knight of the Bath.*
Winnington Thomas, *Esq.*

Withers Charles, *Esq.*
Wyndham *Col.* William, *Esq.*
Wynn Thomas, *Esq.*

Yonge *Sir* William, *Knight of the Bath.*
York *Sir* Philip, *Knt.*

Againſt the BILL.

ABDY *Sir* Robert.
Acton William, *Esq.*
Aiſlabie William, *Esq.*
Anneſley Francis, *Esq.*
Aſtley *Sir* John.
Aſton *Sir* Thomas.
Auſten *Sir* Robert.

Bacon Thomas Sclater, *Esq.*
Bacon *Sir* Edmund, *Bart.*
Bagot *Sir* Walter Wagſtaff. (*Garboldiſham*)
Banks Joſeph, *Esq.*
Barker *Sir* William.
Barnard John, *Esq.*
Bateman *Lord Viſc.*
Bathurſt Peter, *Esq.*
Bathurſt Benjamin, *Esq.*
Belfield John, *Esq.*
Berkeley *Hon.* George, *Esq.*
Bertie *Hon.* James, *Esq.*
Bold Peter, *Esq.*
Bond John, *Esq.*
Boone Charles, *Esq.*
Boothe Robert, *Esq.*
Bootle Thomas, *Esq.*
Boſcawen *Hon* Hugh, *Esq.*
Bramſton Thomas, *Esq.*
Bromley William, *Esq.*
Bromley William, *Jun. Esq.*
Browne John, *Esq.*

Cæſar Charles, *Esq.*
Carew *Sir* William.
Cavendiſh *Lord* James.
Charlton St. John, *Esq.*

APPENDIX.

Chetwynd *Lord Viſc.*
Chetwynd John, *Eſq.*
Child Francis, *Eſq.*
Child William Lacon, *Eſq.*
Cholmondeley Charles, *Eſq.*
Clarke George, *L. L. D.*
Clayton *Sir* William.
Coffin Richard, *Eſq.*
Compton *Hon.* George, *Eſq.*
Cotton *Sir* John Hynde.
Curzon *Sir* Nathaniel.

Davers *Sir* Jermyn.
Devereux *Hon.* Price, *Eſq.*
Digby *Hon.* Edward, *Eſq.*
Douglaſs William, *Eſq.*
Drewe Francis, *Eſq.*
Duff William, *Eſq.*
Dundaſs Robert, *Eſq.*
Dutton *Sir* John.

Ellys *Sir* Richard.
Elton *Sir* Abraham.

Finch *Hon.* John, *Eſq.* (*Maidſtone*)
Finch *Hon.* John, (*Higham Ferrers*)
Foley Richard, *Eſq.*
Forteſcue *Hon.* Theophilus, *Eſq.*
Fox Stephen, *Eſq.*
Furneſe *Sir* Robert.
Furneſe Henry, *Eſq.*

Gower *Hon.* Baptiſt Leveſon, *Eſq.*
Gower *Hon.* William Leveſon, *Eſq.*
Groſvenor *Sir* Richard.
Groſvenor Thomas, *Eſq.*
Guidott William, *Eſq.*
Gybbon Philip, *Eſq.*

Hall Charles, *Eſq.*
Hanbury John, *Eſq.*
Hardreſs *Sir* William.
Harley Edward, *Eſq.*
Harvey Michael, *Eſq.*
Hawkins Philip, *Eſq.*
Heathcote *Sir* William, *Bart.*
Heathcote George, *Eſq.*

Horner Thomas Strangeways, *Esq.*
Howe *Lord Viſc.*
Howe John, *Esq.*

Jekyll *Sir* Joſeph, *Knt.*
Inchequin *Earl of.*

Kemys Edward, *Esq.*

Laroche John, *Esq.*
Lawſon Gilfrid, *Esq.*
Lawſon *Sir* Wilfrid.
Lee *Sir* Thomas.
Lewen George, *Esq.*
Limerick *Lord Viſc.*
Liſle Edward, *Esq.*
Liſter Thomas, *Esq.*
Lowe Samuel, *Esq.*
Lowther *Sir* James.
Lowther *Sir* William,
Lutterel Alexander, *Esq.*
Lutwyche Thomas, *Esq.*
Lyſter Richard, *Esq.*

Manſel *Hon.* Buſſy, *Esq.*
Maſters Thomas, *Esq.*
Maſter Legh, *Esq.*
Meadows Sidney, *Esq.*
Meredith *Sir* Roger.
Middleton Robert, *Esq.*
Morpeth *Lord Viſc.*

Newland William, *Esq.*
Nightingale Joſeph Gaſcoigne, *Esq.*
Noel *Hon.* Thomas, *Esq.*
Noel *Sir* Clobery.
Noel William, *Esq.*
Norris John, *Esq.*
Northmore William, *Esq.*

Oglethorp James, *Esq.*
Ongley Samuel, *Esq.*

Packington *Sir* Herbert Perrot.
Page John, *Esq.*
Parſons Humphrey, *Esq.*
Perrot Henry, *Esq.*

Peytoe William, *Esq.*
Philips Eraſmus, *Esq.*
Pleydell Edmond Morton, *Esq.*
Plumer Richard, *Esq.*
Plumer Walter, *Esq.*
Powlett Norton, *Jun. Esq.*
Price Uvedale, *Esq.*
Pulteney Daniel, *Esq.*
Pulteney William, *Esq.*

Raſhleigh Jonathan, *Esq.*
Reynell Richard, *Esq.*
Rolle John, *Esq.*
Rowney Thomas, *Esq.*
Rudge Edward, *Esq.*
Ruſhout *Sir* John.

Sambroke John, *Esq.*
St. Aubin *Sir* John.
St. John *Hon.* John, *Esq.*
Sandys Samuel, *Esq.*
Saunderſon *Hon. Sir* Thomas Lumley, *Knight of the Bath.*
Scawen Thomas, *Esq.*
Sebright *Sir* Thomas Saunders.
Shepheard Samuel, *Esq.*
Shippen William, *Esq.*
Shirley *Hon.* Robert, *Esq.*
Shuttleworth Richard, *Esq.*
Slingſby *Sir* Henry.
Stanley *Sir* Edward.
Stapleton *Sir* William.
Stonehouſe *Sir* John.

Talbot John Ivory, *Esq.*
Taylor Joſeph, *Esq.*
Trelawney Edward, *Esq.*
Tremayne Arthur, *Esq.*
Turner Cholmley, *Esq.*
Tynte *Sir* Halſwell, *Bart.*

Vane *Lord Viſc.*
Vane *Hon.* Henry, *Esq.*
Vaughan William Gywn, *Esq.*
Vernon *Captain* Edward.
Vyner Robert, *Esq.*

Walcot John *Esq.*
Walden *Lord* Henry.
Waller Edmund, *Esq.*
Waller Harry, *Esq.*
Wardour William, *Esq.*
Ward John, *Esq.*
Weaver John, *Esq.*
Winford Thomas Geers, *Esq.*
Wortley *Hon.* Edward Montagu, *Esq.*
Wright George, *Esq.*
Wyndham Thomas, *Esq.*
Wyndham *Sir* William.
Wynn Watkin Williams, *Esq.*

York John, *Esq.*

A Copy of the PENSION-BILL, *passed by the House of* COMMONS, *and rejected by the House of* LORDS. [See Vol. II. p. 81.]

May it please Your most Excellent Majesty,

'THAT it may be enacted, and be it enacted by 'the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the 'Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, 'and by the Authority of the same, That from and after the 24th Day of *June* 1731, no Person, who shall be elected a Member to serve in the House of Commons, shall vote or sit in the said House, during any Debate there, after their Speaker is chosen, until such Member shall from time to time, and in manner following, first take the Oath herein after mentioned, and subscribe the same in a Parchment Roll, to be provided by the Clerk of the House of Commons for that Purpose, *viz.*

I *A. B.* do solemnly and sincerely swear, that I have not directly or indirectly any Pension during Pleasure, or for any Number of Years, from the Crown, nor any Office in Part, or in the Whole, from the Crown, held for me, or for my Benefit, by any Person whatsoever: And I do solemnly and sincerely promise and swear, that I will not receive, accept, or take, directly or indirectly, during the Time

Time of my being a Member of this Parliament, any Penſion during Pleaſure, or for any Number of Years, or any other Gratuity or Reward whatſoever, or any Office from the Crown, to be held for me, or for my Benefit, in Part, or in the Whole thereof, by any Perſon whatſoever, without ſignifying the ſame to this Houſe, within fourteen Days after I have received or accepted the ſame, if the Parliament be then ſitting, or within fourteen Days after the next Meeting of the Parliament. So help me God.

Which ſaid Oath ſhall be in this and every ſucceeding Parliament, ſolemnly and publicly taken and ſubſcribed by every ſuch Member of the Houſe of Commons, at the Table in the Middle of the ſaid Houſe, at the ſame Time that he takes the other Oaths by Law directed to be taken, whilſt a full Houſe of Commons is there duly ſitting with their Speaker in his Chair.

And be it further enacted, that if any Member ſo taking the Oath, and ſubſcribing as before directed, ſhall, at the Time of taking the ſaid Oath, have any Penſion during Pleaſure, or for any Number of Years, or any Office from the Crown, in Part, or in the Whole, held in Truſt for him, or for his Benefit, or ſhall, during his being a Member of Parliament, accept, receive, or take any Penſion during Pleaſure, or for any Number of Years, or any other Gratuity or Reward whatſoever, or any Office in Part, or in the Whole, to be held for him, or for his Benefit, from the Crown, without ſignifying the ſame to the Houſe, as aforeſaid, ſuch Member ſhall be, and is hereby adjudged and declared to be guilty of wilful any corrupt Perjury, and being thereof convicted by due Courſe of Law, ſhall incur and ſuffer the Pains and Penalties which by the Laws and Statutes of this Realm are inflicted in Caſes of wilful and corrupt Perjury, and ſhall from thenceforth be incapable of taking, holding, or enjoying any Office whatſoever.

And be it further enacted, that if any Member elected as aforeſaid, ſhall refuſe or neglect to take and ſubſcribe the Oath as before directed, the Place for which ſuch Member was elected, is hereby, without any other Conviction or Proceeding, declared void to all Intents and Purpoſes, as if ſuch Member was naturally dead.

And be it further enacted, that in Caſe any Member ſhall preſume to ſit or vote in the Houſe of Commons, after the Speaker is choſen, without taking and ſubſcribing the Oath herein before mentioned, ſuch Member ſhall forfeit the Sum of thirty Pounds for each Day he ſhall ſit and vote as aforeſaid, to be recovered and received, with full Coſts of Suit, by him or them who ſhall ſue for the ſame, and to be

profecuted by any Action, Suit-Bill, Plaint, or Information, in any of his Majeſty's Courts of Record at *Weſtminſter*, wherein no Eſſoign, Protection, Wager of Law, or more than one Imparlance ſhall be admitted or allowed; and ſhall from thenceforth be incapable of taking, holding, or enjoying any Office or Employment of Profit or Truſt under his Majeſty, his Heirs or Succeſſors.

Provided always, and it is hereby declared and enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That no Perſon ſhall be made liable to any Diſability, Incapacity, Forfeiture or Penalty by this Act laid or impoſed, unleſs Proſecution be commenced within one Year next after the Diſſolution, or other Determination of the Parliament, in which ſuch Diſability, Incapacity, Forfeiture, or Penalty ſhall be incurred; or, in Caſe of a Proſecution, unleſs the ſame be carry'd on without wilful Delay, any Thing herein contained to the contrary notwithſtanding.

A LIST *of the* MEMBERS, *who voted for bringing in the* EXCISE-BILL. [See Vol. II. p. 353.]

N. B. * *Theſe afterwards voted againſt the* BILL.

Mr. WINNINGTON, *Teller.*

ALSTON *Sir* Rowland, *Bart.*
Andrews Townſhend, *Eſq.*
Anſtruther *Sir* John, *Bart.*
Anſtruther *Col.* Philip.
Areſkine Charles, *Eſq.*
Arundel *Hon.* Richard, *Eſq.*
Aſhburnham *Sir* William, *Bart.*
Aſhe Edward, *Eſq.*
Auſten *Sir* Robert, *Bart.*

Bacon Waller, *Eſq.*
Bacon *Sir* Edmund, *Bart.* (*of Gillingham*)
Baker *Captain* Hercules.
Bateman William *Lord Viſc.*
Beauclerk *Lord* Vere.
Bennet Thomas, *Eſq.*
Berkeley *Hon.* Henry, *Eſq.*
Bladen Thomas, *Eſq.*
Bladen *Colonel* Martin.

Bon

APPENDIX.

Bond John, *Esq.*
Bradſhaigh *Sir* Roger, *Bart.*
Bridgman *Sir* Orlando, *Bart.*
Briſtow Robert, *Esq.*
Britiffe Robert, *Esq.*
Brodie Alexander, *Esq.*
Bromley Henry, *Esq.*
Brookſbank Stamp, *Esq.*
Brudenel *Hon.* James, *Esq.*
Burchet Joſiah, *Esq.*
Burton William, *Esq.*
Butler James, *Esq.*
Byng *Hon.* Robert, *Esq.*

Campbell John, *Esq.*
Campbell John, *Jun. Esq.*
Campbell Daniel, *Esq.*
Campbell James, *Esq.*
Campbell *Sir* James.
Campbell Peter, *Esq.*
Carey Walter, *Esq,*
Carre William, *Esq.*
Carnarvon *Marquis of.*
Cavendiſh *Lord* Charles.
Cavendiſh *Lord* James.
Chamberlayne George, *Esq.*
Cholmondeley *Hon.* James, *Esq.*
Churchill *Brigadier* Charles.
Clerke *Sir* Thomas, *Knt.*
Clayton *Sir* William, *Bart.*
Clayton William, *Esq.*
Clifton *Sir* Robert.
Clutterbuck Thomas, *Esq.*
Cockburne John, *Esq.*
Conduit John, *Esq.*
Cope *Sir* John, *Bart.*
Cope *Colonel* John.
Copleſton Thomas, *Esq.*
Corbet William, *Esq.*
Cornwallis *Hon.* Stephen, *Esq.*
Cornwallis *Hon.* John, *Esq.*
Cotton *Sir* Robert Saliſbury, *Bart.*
Cracherode Anthony, *Esq.*
Croſt *Sir* Archer, *Bart.*
Croſſe John, *Esq.*
Crowle George, *Esq.*
Cunningham Henry, *Esq.*

Danvers Joſeph, *Eſq.*
Darcy *Sir* Conyers.
Docminique Paul, *Eſq.*
Doddington George, *Eſq.*
Douglas *Captain* Robert.
Downing *Sir* George.
Drummond John, *Eſq.*
Duckett *Colonel* William.
Dunbar Patrick, *Eſq.*
Duncombe Antheny, *Eſq.*

Edgcumbe Richard, *Eſq.*
Edward Samuel, *Eſq.*
Eliot Richard, *Eſq.*
Erle Giles, *Eſq.*
Erle William Rawlinſon, *Eſq.*
Erſkine *Captain* Thomas,
Evans *Captain* Richard.
Evelyn John, *Eſq.*
Eversfield Charles, *Eſq.*
Eyles *Captain* Francis, *Eſq.*

Fane *Hon.* John, *Eſq.*
Fane Francis, *Eſq.*
Farrington Thomas, *Eſq.*
Finch *Hon.* Henry, *Eſq.*
Fitzroy Charles, *Eſq.*
Fitzwilliam *Lord Viſc.*
Forbes Duncan, *Eſq.*
Forteſcue William, *Eſq.*
Fox Stephen, *Eſq.*
Frankland *Sir* Thomas, *Bart.*

Gage *Sir* William.
Gallway *Lord Viſc.*
Gibſon Thomas, *Eſq.*
Glenorchy *Lord Viſc.*
Gough *Sir* Henry.
Gould Nathaniel, *Eſq.*
Gould John, *Eſq.*
Grant *Sir* James, *Bart.*
Gregory George, *Eſq.*
Griffith *Captain* John.
Grimſton William *Lord Viſc.*

Hales *Sir* Thomas, *Bart.*
Hales Thomas, *Eſq.*

APPENDIX.

Hamilton Alexander, *Esq.*
Hamilton *Lord* Archibald.
Hamilton John, *Esq.*
Handasyd Roger, *Esq.*
Harbord Harbord, *Esq.*
Harris John, *Esq.*
Harrison George, *Esq.*
Heathcote *Sir* John, *Bart.*
Hedges John, *Esq.*
Henley Henry Holt, *Esq.*
Herbert Henry Arthur, *Esq.*
Herbert *Hon.* Robert Sawyer, *Esq.*
Hervey *Lord.*
Hinxman Joseph, *Esq.*
Houghton *Sir* Henry, *Bart.*
Hope Thomas, *Esq.*
Hoste James, *Esq.*
Hotham *Sir* Charles, *Bart.*
Howard *Colonel* Charles.
Howarth *Sir* Humphrey.
Hucks William, *Esq.*
Hucks Robert, *Esq.*
Huxley George, *Esq.*

Jekyll *Sir* Joseph.
Jennings *Sir* John.
Ingoldesby Thomas, *Esq.*
Ingram *Hon.* Henry, *Esq.*
Jewks John, *Esq.*

Kelsal Henry, *Esq.*
Knight John, *Esq.*
Knollys Henry, *Esq.*

Lane *Sir* Richard.
Laroche John, *Esq.*
Leathes Carteret, *Esq.*
Leheup Isaac, *Esq.*
Lewis Thomas, *Esq.* (*of Soberton*)
Lewis Thomas, *Esq.* (*of Radnor*)
Liddel George, *Esq.*
Lisburne *Lord Visc.*
Lloyd Richard, *Esq.*
Lloyd *Captain* Philip.
Lockyer Charles, *Esq.*
Longueville Charles, *Esq.*
Lowther *Sir* William, *Bart.*

Lowther *Hon.* Anthony, *Esq.*
Lumley *Hon.* John, *Esq.*
Lyttelton *Sir* Thomas, *Bart.*

Malpas *Lord Viſc.*
Manners *Lord* William.
Martin Thomas, *Esq.*
Medlycott Thomas, *Esq.*
Meredith *Sir* Roger, *Bart.*
Micklethwait *Lord Viſc.*
Middleton *Colonel* John.
Mill *Sir* Richard, *Bart.*
Monro *Sir* Robert.
Monro John, *Esq.*
Monſon George, *Esq.*
Montagu *Hon. Colonel* Edward.
Mordaunt *Colonel* John.
Moore Robert, *Esq.*
Morgan Thomas, *Esq.*
Morton *Hon.* Matthew Ducie, *Esq.*
Murray John, *Esq.*

Naſmith *Sir* James, *Bart.*
Neal John, *Esq.*
Nicoll *Sir* Charles Gounter.
Norton Thomas, *Esq.*

Offley Crew, *Esq.*
Onſlow Arthur, *Esq.* (*Speaker*)
Onſlow *Colonel* Richard.
Orlebar John, *Esq.*
Owen William, *Esq.*
Oxenden *Sir* George.

Papillon David, *Esq.*
Parſons Henry, *Esq.*
Pearſe Thomas, *Esq.*
Peirſe Henry, *Esq.*
Pelham *Hon.* Henry, *Esq.*
Pelham Thomas, *Esq.* (*Lewes*)
Pelham Thomas, *Esq.* (*Stanmore*)
Pelham James, *Esq.*
Pelham Thomas, *Jun. Esq.*
Percival *Lord Viſc.*
Piers *Colonel* William.
Pitt Thomas, *Esq.*
Pitt *Colonel* John.

Polhill David, *Esq.*
Powlett *Lord* Harry.
Powlett William, *Esq.*
Powlet Norton, *Sen. Esq.*
Powlet Norton, *Jun. Esq.*
Powlet Charles Armand, *Esq.*
Price Uvedale, *Esq.*
Pulteney *Colonel* Henry.
Purvice *Captain* George.

Ramſden John, *Esq.*
Reade *Sir* Thomas, *Bart.*
Reade *Colonel* George.
Rich *Sir* Robert, *Bart.*
Ryder Dudley, *Esq.*
Roberts Gabriel, *Esq.*
Robinſon *Sir* Thomas, *Bart.*
Rutherford James, *Esq.*
St. Quintin Matthew Chitty, *Esq.*
Saunders *Sir* George.
Serope *Hon.* John, *Esq.*
Scot James, *for Kincardinſh.*
Selwyn John, *Esq.*
Shannon *Lord Viſc.*
Schaw *Sir* John, *Bart.*
Shelley *Sir* John, *Bart.*
Sinclair *Colonel* James.
Sloper William, *Esq.*
Smelt Leonard, *Esq.*
Speke George, *Esq.*
Stanhope Charles, *Esq.*
Stuart William, *Esq.*
Sutherland William, *Esq.*
Sutton *General* Richard.

Talbot Charles, *Esq.*
Thompſon William, *Esq.*
Thompſon Richard, *Esq.*
Thornhill *Sir* James.
Tilſon Chriſtopher, *Esq.*
Towers Chriſtopher, *Esq.*
Towers Thomas, *Esq.*
Townſhend *Hon.* Horatio, *Esq.*
Townſhend *Hon.* Thomas, *Esq.*
Treby George, *Esq.*
Trenchard George, *Esq.*
Tuffnel Samuel, *Esq.*

Turner *Sir* Charles, *Bart.*
Tylney *Earl of.*
* Tyrconnel *Lord Viſc.*
Tyrrel *Colonel* James.

Vincent Henry, *Esq.*

Wade *General* George.
Wager *Sir* Charles.
Walker Thomas, *Esq.*
Walpole *Sir* Robert.
Walpole Horatio, *Esq.*
Walpole Edward, *Esq.*
Walter Peter, *Esq.*
Wardour William, *Esq.*
Wentworth *Sir* William.
White John, *Esq.*
Whitworth Francis, *Esq.*
Willes John, *Esq.*
Williams *Sir* Nicholas.
William Hugh, *Esq.*
Wills *Sir* Charles.
Windham Thomas, *Esq.*
Wollaſton William, *Esq.*
Wynn Thomas, *Esq.*

Yonge *Sir* William.
York *Sir* Philip,
* Yorke John, *Esq.*

Againſt bringing in the EXCISE-BILL.

Mr. SANDYS, *Teller.*

ABDY *Sir* Robert, *Bart.*
Aiſlabie William, *Esq.*
Alington Marmaduke, *Esq.*
Anneſley Francis, *Esq.*
Aſtley *Sir* John, *Bart.*
Aſton *Sir* Thomas, *Bart.*

Bacon Thomas, *Esq.*
Bacon *Sir* Edmund, *Bart.* (*Gillingham*)
Bagot *Sir* Waller Wagſtaff, *Bart.*
Banks John, *Esq.*

Banks

Banks Joſeph, *Esq.*
Barnard *Sir* John,
Barrington *Sir* John, *Bart.*
Bathurſt Peter, *Esq.*
Bathurſt Benjamin, *Esq.*
Belfield John, *Esq.*
Berkeley *Hon.* George, *Esq.*
Bevan Arthur, *Esq.*
Bold Peter, *Esq.*
Boſcawen *Hon.* Hugh, *Esq.*
Bowes George, *Esq.*
Bowles William, *Esq.*
Bramſton Thomas, *Esq.*
Broke Philip, *Esq.*
Bromley William, *Esq.*
Browne John, *Esq.*
Bulkeley *Lord Viſc.*
Burrard Paul, *Esq.*
Burrel Peter, *Esq.*

Cæſar Charles, *Esq.*
Carew *Sir* William, *Bart.*
Cartwright Thomas, *Esq.*
Caſwall *Sir* George.
Chaſin George, *Esq.*
Charlton St. John, *Esq.*
Chetwynd *Lord Viſc.*
Chetwynd John, *Esq.*
Child *Sir* Francis.
Childe William Lacon, *Esq.*
Cholmondeley Charles, *Esq.*
Clarke Godfrey, *Esq.*
Cocks James, *Esq.*
Coffin Richard, *Esq.*
Compton George, *Esq.*
Cornbury *Lord Viſc.*
Cornewall Velters, *Esq.*
Cotton *Sir* John Hynde, *Bart.*
Courtenay *Sir* William, *Bart.*
Criſp Thomas, *Esq.*
Curzon *Sir* Nathaniel, *Bart.*

Dalrymple *Captain* John.
Dalrymple *Sir* James.
Dalrymple *Hon. Colonel* William.
Davers *Sir* Jermyn, *Bart.*
Devereux *Hon.* Price, *Esq.*
Digby *Hon.* Edward, *Esq.*

Drax Henry, *Esq.*
Drewe Francis, *Esq.*
Dundaſs Robert, *Esq.*

Elton *Sir* Abraham, *Bart.*
Eyles *Sir* John, *Bart.*
Eyles *Sir* Joſeph.

Fazakerley Nicholas, *Esq.*
Fenwick Nicholas, *Esq.*
Finch *Hon.* John, *Esq.* (*Maidſtone*)
Finch *Hon.* John, *Esq.* (*Higham Ferrers*)
Foley Edward, *Esq.*
Forteſcue *Hon.* Theoph. *Esq.*
Fuller John, *Esq.*
Furneſe Henry, *Esq.*

Gage *Lord Viſc.*
Gay Robert, *Esq.*
Gower *Hon.* Baptiſt Leveſon, *Esq.*
Gower *Hon.* William Leveſon, *Esq.*
Groſvenor *Sir* Robert, *Bart.*
Guidott William, *Esq.*
Gybbon Philip, *Esq.*

Hall Charles, *Esq.*
Hanbury John, *Esq.*
Harley Edward, *Esq.*
Harriſon Thomas, *Esq.*
Harvey Michael, *Esq.*
Hawkins Philip, *Esq.*
Heathcote William, *Esq.*
Heathcote George, *Esq.*
Hedworth John, *Esq.*
Henley Anthony, *Esq.*
Hoby *Sir* Thomas, *Bart.*
Holland Rogers, *Esq.*
Hope *Sir* John Bruce, *Bart.*
Howe John, *Esq.*
Hylton John, *Esq.*

Inwen Thomas, *Esq.*
Inchiquin *Earl of.*
Iſham *Sir* Juſtinian, *Bart.*

Kemp *Sir* Robert, *Bart.*
Kemp Robert, *Esq.*
Keyt *Sir* William, *Bart.*

Lawſon Gilfrid, *Eſq.*
Lawſon *Sir* Wilfrid, *Bart.*
Lee *Sir* Thomas, *Bart.*
Lee George, *Eſq.*
Leigh *Hon.* Charles, *Eſq.*
Levinz William, *Eſq.*
Lewen George, *Eſq.*
Limerick *Lord Viſc.*
Liſle Edward, *Eſq.*
Liſter Thomas, *Eſq.*
Lloyd Saliſbury, *Eſq.*
Lowther *Sir* James, *Bart.*
Lowther *Sir* Thomas, *Bart.*
Lutterel Alexander, *Eſq.*
Lutwyche Thomas, *Eſq.*
Lyſter Richard, *Eſq.*

Mackenzie *Sir* George, *Bart.*
Manſel *Hon.* Buſſy, *Eſq.*
Maſters Thomas, *Eſq.*
Maſter Legh, *Eſq.*
Meadows Sidney, *Eſq.*
Merril John, *Eſq.*
Methuen *Hon. Sir* Paul.
Middleton *Sir* William, *Bart.*
Milner *Sir* William, *Bart.*
Monoux *Sir* Humphrey, *Bart.*
Morpeth *Lord Viſc.*
Morrice *Sir* William, *Bart.*
Moſtyn *Sir* Roger, *Bart.*
Mountrath *Earl of.*

Newland William, *Eſq.*
Newton *Sir* Michael.
Nightingale Joſeph Gaſcoigne, *Eſq.*
Noel *Hon.* Thomas, *Eſq.*
Noel *Sir* Clobery, *Bart.*
Norris *Sir* John.
Northmore William, *Eſq.*

Ongley Samuel, *Eſq.*

Packer Winchcomb, *Eſq.*
Packington *Sir* Herbert, *Bart.*
Palmer Thomas, *Eſq.*
Parſons Humphrey, *Eſq.*
Pelham Charles, *Eſq.*

Perrot Henry, *Esq.*
Perry Micajah, *Esq.*
Peyto William, *Esq.*
Philips Eraſmus, *Esq.*
Plumer Richard, *Esq.*
Plumer Walter, *Esq.*
Plumtre John, *Esq.*
Pottenger Richard, *Esq.*
Powlett *Lord* Naſſau.
Pulteney William, *Esq.*

Raſhleigh Jonathan, *Esq.*
Reynell Richard, *Esq.*
Rolle Henry, *Esq.*
Rowney Thomas, *Esq.*
Ruſhout *Sir* John, *Bart.*

Sambrooke John, *Esq.*
Sambroke *Sir* Jer. Vanacker, *Bart.*
St. Aubin *Sir* John, *Bart.*
St. John *Hon.* John, *Esq.*
Saunderſon *Sir* Thomas Lumley.
Scawen Thomas, *Esq.*
Scot Robert, *Esq.*
Sebright *Sir* Thomas Saunders, *Bart.*
Seymour Francis, *Esq.*
Shaſto John, *Esq.*
Shepheard Samuel, *Esq.*
Shippen William, *Esq.*
Shirley *Hon.* Robert, *Esq.*
Shuttleworth Richard, *Esq.*
Slingſby *Sir* Henry.
Somerſet *Lord* Charles Noel.
Spencer *Hon.* John, *Esq.*
Stanhope *Hon.* John, *Esq.*
Stanhope *Sir* William.
Stanhope Charles, *Esq.*
Stanley *Sir* Edward.
Stapleton *Sir* William.

Talbot John Ivory, *Esq.*
Taylor Joſeph, *Esq.*
Townſhend *Hon.* William, *Esq.*
Tremayne Arthur, *Esq.*
Turner Cholmley, *Esq.*

Vane *Lord Viſc.*

Vane *Hon.* Henry, *Esq.*
Vaughan William Gywn, *Esq.*
Vernon *Sir* Charles, *Bart.*
Vernon Edward *Esq.*
Vyner Robert, *Esq.*

Walcot John, *Esq.*
Walden *Lord* Henry.
Waller Edmund, *Esq.*
Waller Harry, *Esq.*
Ward John, *Esq.*
Warren Borlace, *Esq.*
Williams *Sir* John.
Willoughby *Hon.* Thomas, *Esq.*
Winford Thomas, *Esq.*
Wyndham Thomas, *Esq.*
Wortley-Montagu Edward, *Esq.*
Wrighte George, *Esq.*
Wyndham *Sir* William.
Wynn Watkin Williams, *Esq.*

The NAMES *of the* MEMBERS *of the Houſe of* COMMONS *ballotted for on the 24th of* April 1733, *to be a Committee for enquiring into the Frauds of the Cuſtoms, with the Number of Votes for each* MEMBER. [See Vol. II. p. 375.]

Every one of theſe voted for the EXCISE.

SIR John Cope, *Bart.*	294
Mr. Clutterbuck,	293
Sir William Clayton, *Bart.*	292
Mr. Stephen Fox,	292
Mr. Henry Pelham,	291
Mr. Edgecombe,	291
Sir Philip Yorke,	290
Sir John Heathcote, *Bart.*	290
Mr. Clayton,	289
Mr. Anthony Lowther,	289
Sir George Oxenden, *Bart.*	289
Mr. Charles Talbot,	289
General Wade,	288

Mr. George Doddington, (*of Bridgwater*) 288
Mr. Duncan Forbes, 288
Sir Thomas Frankland, *Bart.* 288
Mr. Winnington, 288
Mr. Campbell, (*of Pembrokeſhire*) 288
Lord Hervey, 287
Mr. Horace Walpole, 28[illegible]
Sir William Yonge, *Bart.* 28[illegible]

Every one of theſe voted againſt the EXCISE.

Mr. Walter Plumer, 20[illegible]
Sir John Barnard, 20[illegible]
Mr. Gybbon, 20[illegible]
Mr. Palmer, 20[illegible]
Mr. Sandys, 20[illegible]
Lord Limerick, 20[illegible]
Lord Morpeth, 20[illegible]
Mr. Alderman Perry, 20[illegible]
Mr. William Pulteney, 20[illegible]
Mr. H. Furneſe, 20[illegible]
Sir Edward Stanley, *Bart.* 20[illegible]
Mr. Thomas Wyndham, 20[illegible]
Sir Francis Child, *Knt.* 20[illegible]
Mr. Robert Dundaſs, 20[illegible]
Sir William Wyndham, *Bart.* 200
Mr. George Compton, 19[illegible]
Mr. Edmund Waller, 19[illegible]
Mr. Edward Harley, 19[illegible]
Mr. William Noel, 19[illegible]
Sir John Hynde Cotton, *Bart.* 19[illegible]
Sir Thomas Saunders Seabright, *Bart.* 19[illegible]

A LIST *of the* MEMBERS, *who voted for and againſt the* REPEAL *of the* SEPTENNIAL ACT. [See Vol. III. p.]

For the REPEAL.

ABDDY *Sir* Robert, *Bart.*
Acton William, *Esq.*
Aiſlabie William, *Esq.*
Allington Marmaduke, *Esq.*
Anneſley Francis, *Esq.*
Archer Henry, *Esq.*
Aſtley *Sir* John, *Bart.*

Aſt[illegible]

Aſton *Sir* Thomas, *Bart.*

Bacon Thomas Sclater, *Esq.*
Bacon *Sir* Edmund, *Bart.*
Bagot *Sir* Walter Wagſtaff, *Bart.*
Banks John, *Esq.*
Banks Joſeph, *Esq.*
Barnard *Sir* John, *Knt.*
Barrington *Sir* John, *Bart.*
Bateman *Lord Viſc.*
Bathurſt Peter, *Esq.*
Bathurſt Benjamin, *Esq.*
Beaumont *Sir* George, *Bart.*
Berkeley *Hon.* George, *Esq.*
Bigg John, *Esq.*
Biſhop *Sir* Cecil, *Bart.*
Bold Peter, *Esq.*
Boſcawen *Hon.* Hugh, *Esq.*
Bowes George, *Esq.*
Bramſton Thomas, *Esq.*
Broke Philip, *Esq.*
Bromley William, *Esq.*
Browne John, *Esq.*
Bruce *Sir* John Hope, *Bart.*
Bulkeley *Lord Viſc.*
Bunbury *Sir* Charles, *Bart.*

Cæſar Charles, *Esq.*
Cartwright Thomas, *Esq.*
Carew *Sir* William, *Bart.*
Cavendiſh *Lord* James.
Charlton St. John, *Esq.*
Chaſin George, *Esq.*
Chetwynd *Lord Viſc.*
Chetwynd John, *Esq.*
Child *Sir* Francis, *Knt.*
Child William Lacon, *Esq.*
Cholmondeley Charles, *Esq.*
Clarke George, *L. L. D.*
Cockburn John, *Esq.*
Cocks Fames, *Esq.*
Coffin Richard, *Esq.*
Colerain *Lord.*
Compton *Hon.* George, *Esq.*
Cornbury *Lord Viſc.*
Cornewall Velters, *Esq.*
Cotton *Sir* John Hynde, *Bart.*

Courtenay *Sir* William, *Bart*,
Criſpe Thomas, *Esq.*

Dalrymple *Captain* John.
Dalrymple *Sir* James, *Bart.*
Dalrymple *Hon. Colonel* William.
Davers *Sir* Jermyn, *Bart.*
Deering *Sir* Edward, *Bart.*
Deſbouverie *Sir* Edward, *Bart.*
Devereux *Hon.* Price, *Esq.*
Digby *Hon.* Edward, *Esq.*
Drew Francis, *Esq.*
Duft William, *Esq.*
Dundaſs Robert, *Esq.*

Edwards Thomas, *Esq.*
Erſkine Thomas, *Esq.*

Fazakerley Nicholas, *Esq.*
Fenwick Nicholas, *Esq.*
Finch *Hon.* John, *Esq.* (*Maidſtone*)
Finch *Hon.* John, *Esq.*
Foley Edward, *Esq.*
Forteſcue *Hon.* Theophilus, *Esq.*
Fuller John, *Esq.*
Furneſe Henry, *Esq.*

Gay Robert, *Esq.*
Gower *Hon.* Baptiſt Leveſon, *Esq.*
Gower *Hon.* William Leveſon, *Esq.*
Groſvenor *Sir* Robert, *Bart.*
Gybbon Philips, *Esq.*

Hall Charles, *Esq.*
Harley Edward, *Esq.*
Harriſon Thomas *Esq.*
Harvey Michael, *Esq.*
Hawkins Philip, *Esq.*
Heathcote George, *Esq.*
Henley Anthony, *Esq.*
Hylton John, *Esq.*
Hoby *Sir* Thomas, *Bart.*
Horner Thomas Strangeways, *Esq.*
Howe John, *Esq.*

Jeniſon Ralph, *Esq.*
Inchiquen *Earl of.*

Inwen Thomas, *Esq.*
Iſham *Sir* Juſtinian, *Bart.*

Kemp *Sir* Robert, *Bart.*
Keyt *Sir* William, *Bart.*
Kemp Robert, *Esq.*

Lee *Sir* Thomas, *Bart.*
Lee George, *L. L. D.*
Leigh *Hon.* Charles, *Esq.*
Levinz William, *Esq.*
Lewen George, *Esq.*
Limerick *Lord Viſc.*
Liſle Edward, *Esq.*
Liſter Thomas, *Esq.*
Lloyd Richard, *Esq.*
Lowther *Sir* Thomas, *Bart.*
Lutterel Alexander, *Esq.*
Lutwyche Thomas, *Esq.*
Lyſter Richard, *Esq.*

Mackenzie *Sir* George, *Bart.*
Manſel *Hon.* Buſſy, *Esq.*
Maſters Thomas, *Esq.*
Maſter Legh, *Esq.*
Meadows Sidney, *Esq.*
Meredith *Sir* Roger, *Bart.*
Merril John, *Esq.*
Monoux *Sir* Humphrey, *Bart.*
Mordaunt *Sir* Charles, *Bart.*
Morpeth *Lord Viſc.*
Morrice *Sir* William, *Bart.*
Moſtyn *Sir* Roger, *Bart.*
Murray John, *Esq.*
Myddleton John, *Esq.*

Newland William, *Esq.*
Newton *Sir* Michael, *Bart.*
Nightingale Joſeph Gaſcoigne, *Esq.*

Ongley Samuel, *Esq.*

Packer Winchcomb Howard *Esq.*
Page John, *Esq.*
Palmer Thomas, *Esq.*
Parker Armſtead, *Esq.*
Parſons Humphrey, *Esq.*

Perrot Henry, *Esq.*
Perry Micajah, *Esq.*
Philips Ambroſe, *Esq.*
Philips Eraſmus, *Esq.*
Pleydel Edmund Moreton, *Esq.*
Plumer Walter, *Esq.*
Powlett William, *Jun. Esq.*
Pulteney William, *Esq.*

Raſhleigh Jonathan, *Esq.*
Rolle Henry, *Esq.*
Rowney Thomas, *Esq.*
Ruſhout *Sir* John, *Bart.*

Sambroke *Sir* Jeremy, *Bart.*
St. Aubin *Sir* John, *Bart.*
Sandys Samuel, *Esq.*
Saunderſon *Sir* Thomas, *Knight of the Bath.*
Scawen Thomas, *Esq,*
Sebright *Sir* Thomas, *Bart.*
Seymour Francis, *Esq.*
Shafto John, *Esq.*
Shippen William, *Esq.*
Shirley *Hon.* Robert, *Esq.*
Shuttleworth Richard, *Esq.*
Slingſby *Sir* Henry, *Bart.*
Somerſet *Lord* Charles Noel.
Spencer *Hon.* John, *Esq.*
Stanhope *Sir* William, *Knight of the Bath.*
Stanhope Charles, *Esq.*
Stanley *Sir* Edward, *Bart.*
Stapleton, *Sir* William, *Bart.*

Talbot John Ivory, *Esq.*
Taylor Joſeph, *Esq.*
Tremaine Arthur, *Esq.*

Vane *Lord Viſc.*
Vane *Hon.* Henry, *Esq.*
Vaughan William Groynne, *Esq.*
Vernon *Sir* Charles, *Bart.*
Vernon George Venables, *Esq.*
Vyner Robert, *Esq.*

Walcot John, *Esq.*
Waller Edmund, *Esq.*
Waller Harry, *Esq.*

Ward John, *Esq.*
Winford Thomas Geers, *Esq.*
Wortley Edward Montague, *Esq.*
Wrighte George, *Esq.*
Wyndham *Sir* William, *Bart.*
Wyndham Thomas, *Esq.*
Wynn Watkin Williams, *Esq.*

Yorke John, *Esq.*

Againſt the REPEAL.

ALSTON *Sir* Rowland, *Bart.*
Andrews Townſhend, *Esq.*
Anſtruther *Colonel* Philips.
Arundel *Hon.* Richard, *Esq.*
Aſhe Edward, *Esq.*

Bacon Waller, *Esq.*
Bacon *Sir* Edmund, *Bart.* (*of Gillingham*)
Baker *Captain* Hercules,
Beauclerk *Lord* Vere.
Bennet Thomas, *Esq.*
Berkeley *Hon.* Henry, *Esq.*
Bevan Arthur, *Esq.*
Bladen *Colonel* Martin.
Bladen Thomas, *Esq.*
Bond John, *Esq.*
Bockland Maurice, *Esq.*
Bowles William, *Esq.*
Bradſhaigh *Sir* Roger, *Bart.*
Bridgman *Sir* Orlando, *Bart.*
Bridges George, *Esq.*
Briſtow Robert, *Esq.*
Brodie Alexander, *Esq.*
Brookſbank Stamp, *Esq.*
Brudenell *Hon.* James, *Esq.*
Burchet Joſiah, *Esq.*
Burrard Paul, *Esq.*
Burton William, *Esq.*
Butler James, *Esq.*
Byng *Hon.* Robert, *Esq.*

Campbell John, *Esq.*

Campbell Daniel, *Esq.*
Campbell *Sir* James, *Bart.*
Campbell *Colonel* John,
Campbell John, *Jun.*
Campbell Peter, *Esq.*
Carr William, *Esq.*
Carnarvan *Marquis of.*
Caſwall *Sir* George, *Knt,*
Cholmondely *Colonel* James.
Churchill *Brigadier* Charles.
Clayton *Sir* William.
Clayton William, *Esq.*
Clerke *Sir* Thomas, *Knt.*
Clifton *Sir* Robert.
Clutterbuck Thomas, *Esq.*
Conduit John, *Esq.*
Cope *Sir* John.
Cope *Colonel* John.
Copleſton Thomas, *Esq.*
Cornwallis *Hon.* Stephen, *Esq.*
Cornwallis *Hon.* John.
Croft *Sir* Archer, *Bart.*
Croſſe John, *Esq.*
Crowle George, *Esq.*
Cunningham Henry, *Esq.*

Danvers Joſeph, *Esq.*
Darcy *Sir* Conyers.
Dominique Paul, *Esq.*
Doddington George, *Esq.*
Doddington George, *Esq.*
Douglas Robert, *Esq.*
Downing *Sir* George.
Drake *Sir* Francis, *Bart.*
Drummond John, *Esq.*
Dutton *Sir* John, *Bart.*
Ducket *Colonel* William.

Erle Giles, *Esq.*
Erle *Captain* William, *Esq.*
Eaſt William, *Esq.*
Edgcumb Richard, *Esq.*
Edwards Samuel, *Esq.*
Egmont *Earl of.*
Eliot Richard, *Esq.*
Erſkine Charles, *Esq.*
Evans Richard, *Esq.*

Evelyn John, *Esq.*
Eversfield Charles, *Esq.*
Eyles *Sir* John, *Bart.*
Eyles *Sir* Joſeph.
Eyles *Captain* Francis.

Farrington Thomas, *Esq.*
Ferguſon *Sir* James.
Finch *Hon.* Henry, *Esq.*
Fitzroy Charles, *Esq.*
Forbes Duncan, *Esq.*
Fox Stephen, *Esq.*
Frankland *Sir* Thomas, *Bart.*

Gage *Sir* William.
Gallway *Lord Viſc.*
Gibſon Thomas, *Esq.*
Glanvill William, *Esq.*
Glenorchy *Lord Viſc.*
Goddard John, *Esq.*
Gough *Sir* Henry.
Gould Nathaniel, *Esq.*
Gould John, *Esq.*
Grant *Sir* James, *Bart.*
Gregory George, *Esq*
Griffith John, *Esq.*
Grimſton *Lord Viſc.*

Hales *Sir* Thomas, *Bart.*
Hales Thomas, *Esq.*
Hamilton Alexander, *Esq.*
Hamilton *Lord* Archibald.
Harris John, *Esq.*
Harriſon George, *Esq.*
Hay William, *Esq.*
Heathcote *Sir* John, *Bart.*
Hedges John, *Esq.*
Henley Henry Holt, *Esq.*
Herbert Henry Arthur, *Esq.*
Herbert Thomas, *Esq.*
Herbert Robert, *Esq.*
Hervey Thomas, *Esq.*
Hinxman Joſeph, *Esq.*
Hoghton *Sir* Henry, *Bart.*
Hope Thomas, *Esq.*
Hoſte James, *Esq.*
Hotham *Sir* Charles, *Bart.*

Howard *Colonel* Charles,
Howarth *Sir* Humph.
Hucks William, *Esq.*
Hucks Robert, *Esq.*
Huxley George, *Esq.*

Jennings *Sir* John.
Jeſſop William, *Esq.*
Jewkes John, *Esq.*
Ingoldeſby Thomas, *Esq.*
Ingram Henry, *Esq.*

Kelſal Henry, *Esq.*
Knollys Henry, *Esq.*

Lane *Sir* Richard.
Leathes Carteret, *Esq.*
Leheup Iſaac, *Esq.*
Lewis Thomas, *Esq.*
Lewis Thomas, *Esq.*
Liddell George, *Esq.*
Liſburne *Lord Viſc.*
Lloyd Saluſbury, *Esq.*
Lloyd Philip, *Esq.*
Lockyer Charles, *Esq.*
Longueville Charles, *Esq.*
Lowther *Sir* William, *Bart.*
Lowther *Hon.* Anthony, *Esq.*
Lumley *Hon.* James, *Esq.*

Maiſter Henry, *Esq.*
Manners *Lord Viſc.*
Martin Thomas, *Esq.*
Medlycott Thomas, *Esq.*
Middleton *Sir* William, *Bart.*
Middleton *Colonel* John.
Mill *Sir* Richard, *Bart.*
Milner *Sir* William, *Bart.*
Monſon George, *Esq.*
More Robert, *Esq.*
Moreton *Hon.* Matthew Ducie, *Esq.*
Monro *Sir* Robert, *Bart.*
Mordaunt John, *Esq.*
Morden *Colonel.*
Montagu *Colonel.*

Naſmith *Sir* James.

Norton Thomas, *Esq.*

Offley Crew, *Esq.*
Onſlow *Colonel* Richard.
Orlebar John, *Esq.*
Oughton *Sir* Adolphus, *Bart.*
Owen William, *Esq.*

Parker *Sir* Philip, *Bart.*
Parſons Henry, *Esq.*
Pawlet *Lord* Harry.
Pearſe Thomas, *Esq.*
Peirſe Henry, *Esq.*
Pelham *Hon.* Henry, *Esq.*
Pelham Thomas, *Esq.*
Pelham James, *Esq.*
Pelham Thomas, *Esq.*
Pelham Thomas, *Jun.*
Piers *Colonel* William.
Powlett Charles Armand, *Esq.*
Powlett Norton, *Esq.*
Price Uvedale, *Esq.*
Pulteney *Colonel* Henry.
Purvis *Captain* George.
Plumer Richard, *Esq.*
Plumtre Jonn, *Esq.*
Pigot Robert, *Esq.*

Ramſden John, *Esq.*
Reade *Sir* Thomas, *Bart.*
Reade *Colonel* George.
Rich *Sir* Robert, *Bart.*
Rider Dudley, *Esq.*
Roberts Gabriel, *Esq.*
Robinſon *Sir* Thomas, *Bart.*
Rudge John, *Esq.*
Rutherford James, *Esq.*

Saville *Sir* George, *Bart.*
St. John *Hon.* John, *Esq.*
St. Quintin Matthew Chitty, *Esq.*
Saunders *Sir* George.
Scrope John, *Esq.*
Selwyn Charles, *Esq.*
Selwyn John, *Esq.*
Shannon *Lord Viſc.*
Sinclair *Colonel* James,

Sloper William, *Esq.*
Smelt Leonard, *Esq.*
Speke George, *Esq.*
Stanhope Charles, *Esq.*
Stert Arthur, *Esq.*
Stewart William, *Esq.*
Sutton *General* Richard.

Thompſon Edward, *Esq.*
Thompſon William, *Esq.*
Tilſon Chriſtopher, *Esq.*
Towers Chriſtopher, *Esq.*
Townſhend *Hon.* Horatio, *Esq.*
Townſhend *Hon.* Thomas, *Esq.*
Townſhend *Hon.* William, *Esq.*
Treby George, *Esq.*
Trenchard George, *Esq.*
Tucker Edward, *Esq.*
Tuffnel Samhel, *Esq.*
Turner Cholmley, *Esq.*
Turner *Sir* Charles, *Bart.*
Tyrrel *Colonel* James.

Vincent Henry, *Esq.*

Wade *General* George.
Wager *Sir* Charles.
Walker Thomas, *Esq.*
Walpole *Sir* Robert.
Walpole Horatio, *Esq.*
Walpole Edward, *Esq.*
Walter Peter, *Esq.*
Wardour William, *Esq.*
Wentworth *Sir* William, *Bart.*
White John, *Esq.*
Whitworth Francis, *Esq.*
Willes John, *Esq.*
Williams *Sir* Nicholas.
Williams Hughs, *Esq.*
Wills *Sir* Charles.
Winnington Thomas, *Esq.*
Wilſon Daniel, *Esq.*
Wollaſton William, *Esq.*
Wyndham Thomas, *Esq.*
Wynn Thomas, *Esq.*

Yonge *Sir* William.

THE

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VIII. *A Copy of the Penſion* Will *paſſed by the Commons, and rejected by the Lords.*

IX. *A Liſt of the Members who voted for and againſt bringing in the Exciſe Bill.*

X. *The Names of the Members ballotted for, as a Committee to enquire into the Frauds of the Cuſtoms, with the Number of Votes for each Member,*

XI. *A Liſt of the Members who voted for and againſt the Repeal of the Septennial Act.*

FINIS.

AN EXACT LIST OF THE Knights, and Commiſſioners of Shires, Citizens, and Burgeſſes of the laſt Parliament of Queen ANNE.

Thoſe Gentlemen, that have this Mark * before them, were dead; the others were the Sitting Members, at the Time of the Diſſolution of this Parliament.

Bedfordſhire.

SIR Pynſent Chernock, *Bart.*
John Harvey, *Eſq;*

Bedford.

John Cater, *Eſq;*
Samuel Rolt, *Eſq;*

Berkſhire.

Sir John Stonehouſe, *Bart.*
Robert Packer, *Eſq;*

New Windſor.

Chriſtopher Wren, *Eſq;*
* Charles Aldworth, *Eſq;*

Reading.

Felix Calvert, *Eſq;*
Robert Clarges, *Eſq;*

Wallingford.

Richard Bigge, *Eſq;*
Thomas Renda, *Eſq;*

Abingdon.

Hon. Simon Harcourt, *Eſq;*

Buckinghamſhire.

John Verney, *Viſcount* Fermannah *of* Ireland.
John Fletewood, *Eſq;*

Buckingham.

* John Radcliffe, *M. D.*
Thomas Chapman, *Eſq;*

Chipping-Wicomb.

Sir Thomas Lee, *Bart.*
Sir John Wittewrong, *Bart.*

Ailesbury.

Simon Harcourt, *Eſq;* *Maſter of the* Crown-Office.
John Eſſington, *Eſq;*

Agmondeſham.

Montagu Gerrard, *Eſq;*
James Herbert, *Eſq;*

Wendover.

Sir Roger Hill, *Kt.*
Lieutenant-General Stanhope.

Great Marlow.

Sir James Etherege, *Knt.*
George Bruere, *Eſq;*

Cambridgeſhire.

John Bromley, *Eſq;*
John Jennings, *Eſq;*

Univerſity of *Cambridge.*

Hon. Dixie Windſor, *Eſq;* *Store-Keeper of the Ordnance.*
Thomas Paske, *L. L. D. Chancellor of the Dioceſe of* Exeter.

Town of *Cambridge.*

Sir John Hynde Cotton, *Bart. one of the Commiſſioners of Trade.*
Samuel Sheppard, *Eſq;*

Cheshire.

Sir George Warburton, *Bart.*
Charles Cholmondley, *Esq;*

Chester.

Sir Henry Bunbury, *Bart. one of the Commissioners of the Revenue in* Ireland.
Peter Shakerley, *Esq;*

Cornwall.

Sir William Carew, *Bart.*
John Trevanion, *Esq;*

Launceston.

John Anstis, *Esq;*
Edward Herle, *Esq;*

Leskard.

* William Bridges, *Esq; Secretary to the Ordnance.*
Philip Rashleigh, *Esq;*

Lestwithiel.

Sir Thomas Clarges, *Bart.*
Erasmus Lewis, *Esq; Under-Secretary of State.*

Truroe.

William Collier, *Esq; Inspector of the Play-House.*
Thomas Hare, *Esq; Clerk of the Crown in* Barbadoes.

Bodmin.

Hon. Francis Roberts, *Esq;*
Thomas Sclater, *Esq;*

Helston.

Alexander Pendarves, *Esq;*
Thomas Tonken, *Esq;*

Saltash.

Jonathan Elford, *Esq;*
William Shippen, *Esq;*

Camelford.

Sir Bouchier Wrey, *Bart.*
James Nichols, *Esq;*

Westlow.

John Trelawney, *Esq;*
Sir Charles Wager, *Knt. Rear-Admiral of the Red.*

Grampound.

Thomas Coke, *Esq;*
Andrew Quick, *Esq;*

Eastlow.

Edward Jennings, *Esq;*
* *Sir* Charles Hedges, *Knt.*

Penryn.

Hugh Boscawen, *Esq;*
Samuel Trefusis, *Esq;*

Tregony.

Sir Edmund Prideaux, *Bart.*
James Craigs, *Esq; Jun.*

Bossiney.

Sir William Pole, *Bart.*
Paul Orchard, *Esq;*

St. Ives.

John Hopkins, *Esq;*
Sir William Pendarvis, *Knt.*

Fowey.

Henry Vincent, *Jun. Esq;*
Germayne Wyche, *Esq;*

St. Germans.

Edward Eliot, *Esq;*
John Knight, *Esq;*

St. Michael.

Sir Henry Bellasis, *Knt.*
Sir John Statham, *Knt.*

Newport.

Sir Nicholas Morrice, *Bart.*
Humphrey Morrice, *Esq;*

St. Maws.

Francis Scobell, *Esq;*
Edward Rolt, *Esq;*

Kellington.

Sir John Coryton, *Bart.*
Samuel Roll, *Esq;*

Cumberland.

James Lowther, *Esq;*
Gilfrid Lawson, *Esq;*

Carlisle.

Brigadier Thomas Stanwix, *Governor of* Gibraltar.
Sir Christopher Musgrave, *Bart.*

Cockermouth.

Nicholas Lechmere, *Esq;*
Joseph Musgrave, *Esq;*

Derbyshire.

John Curzon, *Esq;*
Godfrey Clarke, *Esq;*

Derby.

Edward Munday, *Esq;*
Nathaniel Curzon, *Esq;*

Devonshire.

Sir William Courtenay, *Bart. Lord Lieutenant of the County.*

Sir

Sir Copleſtone Warwick Bampfield, *Bart.*

Exeter.

John Rolle, *Eſq;*
Francis Drew, *Eſq;*

Totneſs.

Francis Gwyn, *Eſq; Secretary of War.*
Stephen Northleigh, *Eſq;*

Plymouth.

Sir John Rogers, *Bart.*
Sir George Byng, *Kt. one of the Lords of the Admiralty.*

Okehampton.

William Northmore, *Eſq;*
Chriſtopher Harris, *Eſq;*

Barnſtaple.

Sir Nicholas Hooper, *Kt. a Serjeant at Law.*
Sir Arthur Chicheſter, *Bart.*

Plympton.

Richard Edgcombe, *Eſq;*
George Treby, *Eſq;*

Honiton.

Sir William Drake, *Kt. and Bart. one of the Lords of the Admiralty.*
James Shephard, *Eſq;*

Taviſtock.

Sir John Cope, *Kt.*
James Bulteel, *Eſq;*

Aſhburton.

Roger Tuckfield, *Eſq;*
*Richard Reynell, *Eſq;*

Clifton, Dartmouth, Hardneſs.

John Foundes, *Eſq;*
Frederick Herne, *Eſq;*

Boralſton.

Sir Peter King, *Kt. Recorder of* London.
Lawrence Carter, *Eſq;*

Tiverton.

John Worth, *Eſq;*
Sir Edward Northey, *Eſq;*

Dorſetſhire.

Thomas Strangeways, *Eſq;*
George Chaffin, *Eſq;*

Poole.

Sir William Lewen, *Kt.*
George Trenchard, *Eſq;*

Dorcheſter.

Sir Nathaniel Napier, *Bart.*
Henry Trenchard, *Eſq;*

Lyme-Regis.

Henry Henley, *Eſq;*
John Burridge, *Eſq;*

Weymouth.

James Littleton, *Eſq;*
Reginald Mariot, *Eſq;*

Melcomb-Regis.

Sir Thomas Hardy, *Kt. Rear Admiral of the Blue.*
William Harvey, *Eſq;*

Bridport.

William Coventry, *Eſq;*
John Hoſkins Gifford, *Eſq;*

Shaftsbury.

Edward Nicholas, *Eſq; Paymaſter of his Majeſty's Penſioners.*
Henry Whitaker, *Eſq;*

Wareham.

Lieutenant-General Thomas Erle.
George Pitt, *Eſq;*

Corfe-Caſtle.

*John Banks, *Eſq;*
*Richard Fownes, *Eſq;*

Durham *County.*

John Eden, *Eſq;*
John Hedworth, *Eſq;*

Durham.

Thomas Conyers, *Eſq;*
George Baker, *Eſq;*

Eſſex.

Sir Richard Child, *Bart.*
Sir Charles Barrington, *Bart.*

Colcheſter.

William Gore, *Eſq;*
Nicholas Corſellis, *Eſq;*

Malden.

John Comyns, *Eſq; Serjeant at Law.*
Thomas Bramſton, *Eſq;*

Harwich.

Sir Thomas Davall, *Bart.*
Hon. Benedict Leonard Calvert, *Eſq;*

Glouceſterſhire.

Hon. John Berkeley, *Eſq;*
Thomas Stevens, *Eſq;*

Glouceſter.

John Snell, *Eſq;*
Charles Cox, *Eſq; a* Welch *Judge.*

Cirenceſter.

Thomas Maiſters, *Eſq;*
Benjamin Bathurſt *Eſq;*

Tewkſbury.

William Dowdeſwell, *Eſq;*
Anthony Lechmere, *Eſq;*

Herefordſhire.

James *Lord Viſcount* Scudamore, *of* Ireland.
Sir Thomas Morgan, *Bart.*

Hereford.

Hon. James Bridges, *Eſq;*
Thomas Foley, *Eſq; one of the Auditors of the Impreſt.*

Leominſter.

Edward Harley, *Eſq; one of the Auditors of the Impreſt.*
Henry Gorges, *Eſq;*

Weobly.

John Birch, *Eſq; Serjeant at Law.*
Uvedale Price, *Eſq;*

Hertfordſhire.

Ralph Freeman, *Eſq;*
Thomas Halſey, *Eſq;*

St. Albans.

William Grimſtone, *Eſq;*
John Gape, *Eſq;*

Hertford.

Charles Cæſar, *Eſq; Treaſurer of the Navy.*
Richard Gulſtone, *Eſq;*

Huntingdonſhire.

Sir Matthew Dudley, *Bart.*
Robert Piggot, *Eſq;*

Huntingdon.

Hon. Sidney Wortley Montagu, *Eſq;*
Edward *Lord* Hinchinbroke, *only Son of the Earl of* Sandwich.

Kent.

Percival Hart, *Eſq;*
Sir Edward Knatchbull, *Bart.*

Canterbury.

John Hardreſs, *Eſq;*
Henry Lee, *Eſq; one of the Commiſſioners of the Victualling-Office.*

Rocheſter.

Sir John Leake, *Kt. Rear-Admiral of* Great-Britain, *and one of the Lords of the Admiralty.*
William Cage, *Eſq;*

Maidſtone.

Sir Robert Marſham, *Bart.*
Sir Samuel Ongley, *Kt.*

Queenborough.

Col. Thomas King
Charles Fotherby, *Eſq;*

Lancaſhire.

Richard Shuttleworth, *Eſq;*
John Bland, *Eſq;*

Preſton.

Henry Fleetwood, *Eſq;*
Edward Southwell, *Eſq; one of the Clerks of the Privy-Council.*

Lancaſter.

Robert Heyſham, *Eſq;*
William Heyſham, *Eſq;*

Newton.

John Ward, *Eſq; a* Welch *Judge.*
Abraham Blackmore, *Eſq;*

Wigan.

Sir Roger Bradhaigh, *Bart.*
George Kenion, *Eſq;*

Clithero.

**Hon.* Charles Stanley, *Eſq. His Election declar'd void, but ordered that no new Writ ſhould iſſue.*
Thomas Liſter, *Eſq; one of the Commiſſioners of publick Accompts.*

Leverpool.

Sir Thomas Johnſon, *Kt.*
William Clayton, *Eſq;*

Leiceſterſhire.

Sir Thomas Cave, *Bart.*
Sir Jeffery Palmer, *Bart.*

Leiceſter.

Sir George Beaumont, *Bart. one of the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty.*
James Winſtanley, *Eſq;*

Lincolnſhire.

Peregrine *Lord* Willoughby, *Heir apparent of the Marquis of* Lindſey.
Sir Willoughby Hickman, *Bart.*

Lincoln

Lincoln.

Thomas Lister, *Esq; one of the Commissioners of publick Accounts.*
John Sibthorp *Esq;*

Boston.

Richard Wynn, *Esq;*
Henry Heron, *Esq;*

Grimsby.

Arthur Moore, *Esq; one of the Commissioners of Trade.*
William Coatsworth, *Esq;*

Stamford.

Hon. Charles Cecil, *Esq;*
Charles Bertie *Esq;*

Grantham.

Sir John Thorold, *Bart.*
Sir John Brownlow, *Bart.*

Middlesex.

Hon. James Bertie, *Esq.*
Hugh Smithson, *Esq;*

Westminster.

Thomas Medlicot, *Esq;*
Sir Thomas Cross, *Bart.*

London.

Sir William Withers, *Kt.*
Sir Richard Hoare, *Kt.*
Sir John Cass, *Kt.*
* *Sir* George Newland, *Kt.*

Monmouthshire.

John Morgan, *Esq;*
Sir Charles Kemys, *Bart.*

Monmouth.

Clayton Milbourne, *Esq;*

Norfolk.

Sir Edmond Bacon, *Bart.*
Sir Jacob Astley, *Bart. one of the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations.*

Norwich.

Robert Bene, *Esq;*
Richard Berney, *Esq;*

Lyn Regis.

Sir Charles Turner, *Kt.*
Robert Walpole, *Esq;*

Great Yarmouth.

Richard Ferrier, *Esq;*
George England, *Esq;*

Thetford.

Sir William Barker *Bart.*
Dudley North *Esq;*

Castlerising.

Hon. William Fielding *Esq;*
Horatio Walpole *Esq;*

Northamptonshire.

Sir Justinian Isham, *Bart.*
Thomas Cartwright, *Esq;*

Peterborough.

Hon. John Fitz-Williams *Esq; Heir Apparent of the Lord* Fitz-Williams.
Charles Parker, *Esq;*

Northampton.

William Wykes *Esq;*
Hon. George Montague, *Esq;*

Brackley.

Henry Watkins, *Esq; Secretary to the Duke of* Ormond.
John Burgh, *Esq;*

Higham Ferrers.

Hon. Charles Leigh, *Esq;*

Northumberland.

Algernoon *Earl of* Hertford, *Heir apparent to the Duke of* Somerset, *Governor of* Tinmouth Fort.
Thomas Forster, *Esq;*

Newcastle upon Tyne.

Sir William Blacket, *Bart.*
William Wrightson, *Esq;*

Morpeth.

Sir John Germayne, *Kt.* and *Bart.*
Oley Douglas, *Esq;*

Berwick upon Tweed.

William Orde, *Esq;*
Richard Hampden, *Esq;*

Nottinghamshire.

Hon. Francis Willoughby, *Esq;*
William Levinz, *Esq;*

Nottingham.

Borlace Warren, *Esq;*
* Robert Sacheverell, *Esq;*

East Retford.

John Digby, *Esq;*
Francis Lewis, *Esq;*

Newark

Newark upon *Trent*.
Richard Newdigate, *Esq*; *Brigadier General*.
Richard Sutton.

Oxfordshire.

Sir Robert Jenkinson, *Bart*.
Francis Clerke, *Esq*;
University of *Oxford*.
Sir William Whitlock *Bart*. *one of her Majesty's Council at Law*.
William Bromley, *Esq*; *one of her Majesty's principal Secretaries of State*.
Oxford.
Sir John Walter, *Bart*. *one of the Clerks Comptrollers of the Greencloth*.
Thomas Rowney *Esq*;
New Woodstock.
Sir Thomas Wheat, *Bart*.
Lieutenant General Cadogan.
Banbury.
Sir Jonathan Cope *Bart*.

Rutlandshire.

Daniel *Lord* Finch, *Heir apparent to the Earl of* Nottingham.
Bennet *Lord* Sherrard *of* Ireland.

Shropshire.

John Kynaston, *Esq*;
Henry *Viscount* Newport, *Heir apparent to the Earl of* Bradford.
Shrewsbury.
Edward Cressett, *Esq*;
Corbet Kynaston, *Esq*;
Bridgnorth.
William Whitmore, *Esq*;
John Weaver, *Esq*;
Ludlow.
Acton Baldwin, *Esq*;
Humphry Walcot, *Esq*;
Great Wenlock.
Sir William Forester *Kt*. *one of the Clerks of the Greencloth*.
Hon. Richard Newport *Esq*;
Bishop's Castle.
Sir Robert Raymond *Kt*. *her Majesty's Sollicitor General*.
Richard Harnage, *Esq*;

Somersetshire.

Sir William Wyndham, *Bart*. *Chancellor of the* Exchequer.
Thomas Horner, *Esq*
Bristol.
Thomas Edwards, *Esq*;
Joseph Earle, *Esq*;
Bath.
Samuel Trotman, *Esq*;
John Coddrington, *Esq*;
Wells.
Maurice Berkley, *Esq*;
Sir Thomas Wroth, *Bart*.
Taunton.
Sir Francis Warre, *Bart*.
Henry Portman, *Esq*;
Bridgwater.
Nathaniel Palmer, *Esq*;
John Rolle, *Esq*;
Minehead.
Sir John Trevelyan, *Bart*.
Sir Jacob Banks, *Kt*.
Ilchester.
Edward Phillips, *Esq*; *Comptroller of the Mint*.
Sir James Bateman, *Kt*.
Milbourne-Port.
Sir Thomas Travell, *Kt*.
James Medlycot, *Esq*; *one of the Masters in Chancery*.
County of **Southampton**.
Thomas Lewis, *Esq*;
Sir Anthony Sturt, *Kt*.
Winchester.
John Popham *Esq*;
George Bridges, *Esq*;
Southampton.
Richard Fleming, *Esq*;
Roger Harris, *Esq*;
Portsmouth.
Sir Thomas Mackworth, *Bart*.
Sir James Wishart, *Kt*. *one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty*.
Yarmouth.
Henry Holmes, *Esq*;
Sir Gilbert Dolben, *Bart*.
Petersfield.
Leonard Bilson, *Esq*;
Norton Paulett *Esq*; *Newport*.

Newport

Lieutenant General John Webb, *Governor of the* Isle of Wight.

William Stephens *Esq*; *one of the Commissioners of the Victualling Office.*

Stockbridge.

Thomas Broderick, *Esq*;

James *Earl of* Barrymore *of* Ireland.

New-Town.

James Worsley, *Esq*; *made Woodward of the* New Forest.

Henry Worsley, *Esq*;

Christ-Church.

William Ettricke, *Esq*; *Sollicitor to the Admiralty.*

Sir Peter Mews, *Knt. Chancellor of the Diocese of* Wincheſter.

Lymington.

Lord William Paulet.

Sir Joſpeph Jekyll, *Knt.*

Whitchurch.

Frederick Tilney, *Esq*;

Thomas Vernon, *Esq*; *one of the Commissioners of Trade.*

Andover.

William Guidott, *Esq*;

Gilbert Serle, *Esq*;

Staffordshire.

Ralph Sneyd, *Esq*;

Henry Vernon, *Esq*;

Litchfield.

Richard Dyot, *Esq*;

John Cotes, *Esq*;

Stafford.

Walter Chetwynd, *Esq*;

Henry Vernon, *Esq*;

Newcaſtle under Line.

Rowland Cotton, *Esq*;

William Burſlem, *Esq*;

Tamworth.

Joſeph Girdler, *Esq*; *Serjeant at Law.*

Samuel Bracebridge, *Esq*;

Suffolk.

Hon. Sir Thomas Hanmer, *Bart.* SPEAKER.

Sir Robert Davers, *Bart.*

Ipſwich.

* Richard Richardſon, *Esq*; *Serjeant at Law.*

Orlando Bridgman, *Esq*;

Dunwich.

Sir George Downing, *Bart.*

Sir Robert Kemp, *Bart.*

Orford.

Sir Edward Turner, *Knt.*

Clement Corrance, *Esq*;

Adlborough.

Sir Henry Johnſon, *Knt.*

William Johnſon, *Esq*;

Sudbury.

Sir Harwey Elweſs, *Bart.*

Hon. Robert Echlin, *Esq*; *Lieutenant General of her Majeſty's Army.*

Eye.

Edward Hopkins, *Esq*;

Thomas Maynard, *Esq*;

St. Edmunds-Bury.

Aubrie Porter, *Esq*;

Hon. Carr Hervey, *Esq*; *Heir Apparent of the Lord* Hervey.

Surry.

Sir Richard Onſlow, *Bart.*

Heneage *Lord* Guernſey, *Heir Apparent to the Earl of* Aylesford.

Southwark.

John Lade, *Esq*;

Fiſher Tench, *Esq*;

Blechingly.

George Evelyn, *Esq*;

Thomas Onſlow, *Esq*;

Rygate.

Sir John Parſons, *Knt.*

James Cocks, *Esq*;

Guilford.

Morgan Randyl, *Esq*;

Denzill Onſlow, *Esq*;

Gatton.

William Newland, *Esq*;

Paul Doeminique, *Esq*;

Haſlemere.

George Vernon, *Esq*;

Nicholas Carew, *Esq*;

Suſſex.

Henry Campion, *Esq*;

John Fuller, *Esq*; *Chicheſter.*

Chicheſter.
William Elſon, *Eſq;*
Hon. James Brudenell, *Eſq;*
Horſham.
Charles Eversfield, *Eſq;*
John Middleton, *Eſq,*
Midhurſt.
William Knight, *Eſq;*
John Pratt, *Eſq; Serjeant at Law.*
Lewes.
Thomas Pelham, *Eſq;*
John Morley Trevor, *Eſq;*
New Shoreham.
Francis Chamberlain, *Eſq;*
Nathaniel Gould, *Eſq;*
Bramber.
Francis *Lord* Duncannon *of* Ireland.
Hon. Andrew Windſor, *Eſq;*
Steyning.
Sir Harry Goring, *Bart.*
William Wallis *Eſq;*
Eaſt Grinſted.
John Conyers *Eſq;*
Hon. Spencer Compton, *Eſq;*
Arundel.
Richard *Lord* Lumley, *Heir apparent to the Earl of* Scarborough.
Henry *Earl of* Thomond *of* Ireland.

Warwickſhire.

Sir John Mordaunt, *Bart.*
Andrew Archer *Eſq;*
Coventry.
Sir Chriſtopher Hales, *Bart.*
Sir Fulwar Skipwith, *Bart.*
Warwick.
Hon. Dodington Grevile, *Eſq;*
William Colemore, *Eſq;*

Weſtmorland.

Hon. James Grahme, *Eſq;*
Daniel Wilſon, *Eſq;*
Apulby.
Sir Richard Sandford, *Bart.*
Thomas Lutwyche, *Eſq; one of her Majeſty's Council learned in the Law.*

Wiltſhire.

Sir Richard How, *Bart.*
Robert Hide, *Eſq;*
New Sarum.
Richard Jones, *Eſq;*
Sir Stephen Fox, *Kt.*
Wilton.
John London, *Eſq;*
Thomas Pit, *Jun. Eſq;*
Downeton.
John Sayer, *Eſq;*
John Eyre *Eſq;*
Hindon.
Reynolds Calthorpe, *Jun. Eſq;*
Richard Lockwood, *Eſq;*
Heytesbury.
Edward Aſhe, *Eſq;*
Pierce a Court, *Eſq;*
Weſtbury.
Hon. Henry Bertie, *Eſq;*
Francis Anneſley, *Eſq; one of the Commiſſioners of publick Accounts.*
Calne.
William Hedges, *Eſq;*
William Northey, *Eſq;*
Devizes.
John Nicholas, *Eſq;*
Sir Robert Child, *Kt.*
Chippenham.
John Norris, *Eſq;*
John Eyles, *Eſq;*
Malmesbury.
Joſeph Addiſon, *Eſq;*
Sir John Ruſhout, *Bart.*
Cricklade.
Sir Thomas Read, *Bart.*
Samuel Robinſon, *Eſq;*
Great Bedwin.
Sir Edward Seymour, *Bart.*
Thomas Millington, *Eſq;*
Lugerſhall.
John Ward, *Eſq;*
Robert Ferne, *Eſq;*
Old Sarum.
Thomas Pitt, *Eſq;*
Robert Pitt, *Eſq;*
Wotton Baſſet.
Richard Creſwell, *Eſq;*
Edmond Pleydel, *Eſq;*

Marlborough.

Marlborough.
Gabriel Roberts, *Eſq;*
Hon. Robert Bruce, *Eſq;*

Worceſterſhire.

Sir John Packington, *Bart.*
Samuel Pitts, *Eſq;*
Worceſter.
Samuel Swift, *Eſq;*
Thomas Wylde, *Eſq;*
Droitwich.
Richard Foley, *Eſq; one of the Prothonotaries of the Common Pleas.*
Edward Jeffereys, *Eſq; a* Welſh *Judge.*
Everſham.
Sir Edward Goodere, *Bart.*
John Rudge, *Eſq;*
Bewdly.
Salway Winington, *Eſq;*

Yorkſhire.

Henry *Lord Viſcount* Down *of* Ireland.
Sir Arthur Kaye, *Bart.*
York.
Sir William Robinſon, *Bart.*
Robert Fairfax, *Eſq;*
Kingſton upon Hull.
Sir William St. Quintin, *Bart.*
William Maiſter, *Eſq;*
Knaresborough.
Henry Slingsby, *Eſq;*
Francis Fawkes, *Eſq;*
Scarborough.
William Thompſon, *Eſq;*
John Hungerford, *Eſq; Curſitor of* Yorkſhire *and* Weſtmorland.
Rippon.
John Aiſlabie, *Eſq;*
John Sharpe, *Eſq; one of the Commiſſioners of Trade.*
Richmond.
John York, *Eſq;*
Hon. Henry Mordaunt, *Eſq; Treaſurer of the Ordnance.*
Heydon.
William Pulteney, *Eſq;*
Hugh Cholmely, *Eſq;*
Borough Bridge.
Sir Brian Stapylton, *Bart.*
Edmund Dunch, *Eſq;*
Malton.
Hon. Thomas Wentworth, *Eſq;*
William Strickland, *Eſq;*
Thirſk.
Thomas Frankland, *Eſq;*
Ralph Bell, *Eſq;*
Aldborough.
Hon. John Dawney, *Eſq;*
Paul Foley, *Eſq;*
Beverley.
Sir Charles Hotham, *Bart.*
Sir Michael Warton, *Bart.*
Northallerton.
Henry Piers, *Eſq;*
Leonard Smelt, *Eſq;*
Pontefract.
Hon. John Dawney *Eſq;*
Robert Frank, *Eſq;*

The CINQUE PORTS.

Haſtings.
Archibald Hutcheſon, *Eſq;*
Sir Joſeph Martin, *Kt.*
Dover.
Sir William Hardreſs, *Bart.*
Philip Papillon, *Eſq;*
Sandwich.
Sir Henry Oxenden, *Bart.*
John Mitchell, *Eſq;*
Hyeth.
Jacob Des Bouvery, *Eſq;*
John Boteler, *Eſq;*
New Romney.
Sir Robert Furneſe, *Bart.*
Edward Ld *Viſcount* Sondes, *Heir apparent to the Earl of* Rockingham.
Rye.
Sir J. Norris, *Kt. Admiral of the Blue;*
Philip Gibbon, *Eſq;*
Winchelſea.
George Doddington, *Eſq;*
Robert Briſtow *Eſq;*

Seaford.
William Lowndes, *Esq*; *Secretary of the Treasury.*
George Naylor *Esq*;

WALES.

Anglesea.
Richard *Lord Viscount* Bulkeley *of* Ireland.

Beaumaris.
Hon. Henry Bertie, *Esq*;

Brecon.
Sir Edward Williams *Bart.*
Town of *Brecon.*
Roger Jones, *Esq*;

Cardigan.
Thomas Jones, *Esq*;
Town of *Cardigan.*
Sir George Barlow, *Bart.*

Carmarthen.
Sir Thomas Powel, *Bart.*
Town of *Carmarthen.*
Richard Vaughan, *Esq*;

Carnarvan.
William Griffith, *Esq*;
Town of *Carnarvan.*
Thomas Wynne, *Esq*;

Denbigh.
Sir Richard Middleton. *Esq*;
Town of Denbigh.
John Wynne, *Esq*;

Flint.
Sir John Conway, *Bart.*
Town of Flint.
Sir Roger Mostyn, *Bart. Pay-master of the Marines.*

Glamorgan.
Robert Jones, *Esq*;
Town of Cardiffe.
Sir Edward Stradling, *Bart.*

Merioneth.
Richard Vaughan, *Esq*;

Montgomery.
Edward Vaughan, *Esq*;
Town of Montgomery.
John Pugh, *Esq*;

Pembroke.
John Barlow, *Esq*;
Town of Pembroke.
Lewis Wogan, *Esq*;
Town of Haverford-West.
John Laugharne, *Esq*;

Radnor.
Thomas Harley, *Esq*;
Town of New Radnor.
Edward *Lord* Harley, *Heir apparent of the Earl of* Oxford.

SCOTLAND.

Shire of Aberdeen.
Sir Alexander Cumming, *Kt.*
Shire of Air.
John Montgomery, *Esq*;
Shire of Argyle.
Sir James Campbell, *Bart.*
Shire of Bamff.
*Alexander Abercromby, *Esq*;
Shire of Berwick.
George Bailie, *Esq*;
Shires Bute *and* Cathness.
John Campbell, *jun. Esq*;
Shires Nairn *and* Cromartie.
John Forbes, *Esq*;
Shire of Dumbarton.
Hon. John Campbell, *Esq*;
Shire of Dumfries.
Sir William Johnstoun, *Bart.*
Shire of Edinburgh.
George Lockhart, *Esq*;
Shire of Elgin.
Alexander Grant, *Esq*;
Shire of Fife.
Sir Alexander Areskine, *Bart.* Lyon *King at Arms.*
Shire of Forfar.
John Carnegie, *Esq*;
Shire of Hadington.
John Cockburn, *Esq*;
Shire of Inverness.
Hon. Alexander Mackenzie, *Esq*;
Shire of Kincardin.
James Scott, *Esq*;

Shires

Shires of Kinroſs *and* Clacmanan.
Sir John Areskine, *Bart.*
Stewartry of Kirkeudbright.
Sir John Stewart, *Bart.*
Shire of Lanerk.
Sir James Hamilton, *Bart.*
Shire of Linlithgow.
John Howſton, *Eſq;*
Shire of Orkney *and* Zetland.
Hon. Col. George Douglas.
Shire of Peebles.
William Morriſon, *Eſq;*
Shire of Perth.
James *Lord* Murray.
Shire of Renfrew.
Sir Robert Pollock, *Bart.*
Shire of Roſs.
Lieutenant-General Charles Roſs.
Shire of Roxburgh.
Sir Gilbert Eliot, *Bart.*
Shire of Selkirk.
John Pringle, *Eſq;*
Shire of Stirling.
Sir Hugh Paterſon, *Kt. and Bart.*
Shire of Sutherland.
William Morriſon, *Eſq;*
Shire of Wigtoun.
Hon. John Stuart, *Eſq;*
City of Edinburgh.
Sir James Stewart *of* Goodrees, *Bart.*
Sollicitor for Scotland.

Burghs of Kirkwall, Week, Dornock, Dingwall, Taine — Robert Monro, *Eſq;*

Burghs of Fortroſe, Inverneſs, Nairn, Forreſs — William Stewart, *Eſq;*

Burghs of Elgin, Cullen, Bamff, Inverary, Kintore — *Hon.* James Murray, *Eſq;*

Burghs of Aberdeen, Inverbervy, Montroſe, Aberbrothock, Brichene — John Middleton, *Eſq;*

Burghs of Forfar, Perth, Dundee, Coupar, St. Andrews — George Yeaman, *Eſq;*

Burghs of Craill, Kilrennie, Anſtruther Eaſter, Anſtruther Weſter, Pettenweem — *Sir* John Anſtruther, *Bart.*

Burghs of	Dyſert Kirkaldie Kinghorne Bruntiſland	James Oſwald, *Eſq;*
Burghs of	Innerkithen Dunfermline Queensferry Culcroſs Stirling	Henry Cunningham, *Eſq;*
Burghs of	Glaſgow Renfrew Ruglen Dumbarton	Thomas Smith, *Eſq;*
Burghs of	Hadington Dunbarr North Berwick Lauder Jedburgh	*Sir* David Dalrymple, *Bart.*
Burghs of	Selkirk Peebles Linlithgow Lanerk	*Sir* James Carmichael, *Bart.*
Burghs of	Dumfries Sanquhar Annan Lockmaben Kirkeudbright	*Sir* William Johnſtoun, *Bart.*
Burghs of	Wigtoun New Galloway Stranraver Whitehorn	*Sir* Alexander Maxwell, *Bart.*
Burghs of	Air Irvin Rotheſay Campbletoun Inverary	Charles Oliphant, *M. D.*

A

LIST

OF THE

Knights and Commiſſioners of Shires, Citizens and Burgeſſes, of the firſt Parliament of King GEORGE I.

Bedfordſhire

William Hillerſden, *Eſq;*
John Hervey, *Eſq; not duly elected. In his Place*

John Cater, *Eſq;*
Bedford.

William Farrer, *Eſq; made Maſter of* St. Catharine's *near the* Tower, *and rechoſe.*

John Thurloe Brace, *Eſq;*

Berkſhire.

Sir John Stonehouſe, *Bart.*

Robert Packer, *Eſq;*
New Windſor.

Chriſtopher Wren, *Eſq;* } *not duly e-*
Robert Gayer, *Eſq;* } *lected. In their Places*

Sir Henry Aſhurſt, *Bart.*

Samuel Travers, *Eſq; Auditor to the Prince, and Clerk to the King's Works.*

Reading.

Felix Calvert, *Eſq;* } *declar'd a*
Robert Clarges, *Eſq;* } *void Election.*

Hon. Charles Cadogan, *Eſq;*

Owen Buckingham, *made a Commiſſioner of the Victualling-Office, and rechoſe. Deceaſed. In his Place*

Richard Thompſon, *Eſq;*
Wallingford.

William Hucks, *Eſq; Brewer to his Majeſty's Houſhold.*

Edmund Dunch, *Eſq; Maſter of his Majeſty's Houſhold. Deeceaſed. In his Place*

Henry Grey Neville, *Eſq;*
Abington.

James Jennings, *Eſq;*

Bucks.

John Fleetwood, *Eſq;*

Richard Hampden, *Eſq; made one of the Tellers of the* Exchequer, *and rechoſe; then Treaſurer of the Navy, and rechoſe.*
Buckingham.

Alexander Denton, *Eſq; Attorney-General of the Dutchy of* Lancaſter.

Abraham Stanyan, *Eſq; made one of the Clerks of the Council, and Ambaſſador to the* Ottoman Porte. *In his Place*

Edmund Halſey, *Eſq;*
Chipping-Wicomb.

Sir Thomas Lee, *Bart.*

Sir John Wittewrong, *Bart. deceaſed. In his Place*

John Neale, *Eſq;*
Ailesbury.

Sir Nathaniel Mead, *Serjeant at Law.*

Trevor Hill, *Eſq; created Lord Viſcount* Hillsborough *of* Ireland.
Agmondeſham.

Montague Gerrard Drake, *Eſq;*

John Verney, *Lord Viſcount* Fermannah,

nah, *of* Ireland, *deceaſed. In his Place*

Hon. Ralph Verney, *Eſq*; *his Son.*

Wendover.

Sir Roger Hill, *Knt.*

Richard Grenville, *Eſq*;

Great-Marlow.

George Bruere, *Eſq*;

Henry Petty, *Baron* Shelburne *of* Ireland.

Cambridgeſhire.

John Jennings, *Eſq*; *deceaſed. In his Place*

Sir Robert Clark, *Bart.*

John Bromley, *Eſq*; *deceaſed. In his Place*

Sir Francis Whichcot *of* Qui, *Bart. made one of the Commiſſioners for ſtating the Debts due to the Army.*

Univerſity of *Cambridge.*

Hon. Dixie Windſor, *Eſq*;

Thomas Paske, L. L. D. *deceaſed. In his Place*

Hon. Thomas Willoughby, *Eſq*;

Town of *Cambridge.*

Sir John Hynde Cotton, *Bart.*

Thomas Sclater Bacon, *Eſq*; *not duly elected. In his Place*

Samuel Sheppard, *Eſq*;

Cheſhire.

Sir George Warburton, *Bart.*

Hon. Langham Booth, *Eſq*; *ſecond Brother to the Earl of* Warrington.

Cheſter.

Sir Henry Bunbury, *Bart.*

Sir Richard Groſvenor, *Bart.*

Cornwall.

Sir William Carew, *Bart.*

John Trevanion, *Eſq*;

Launceſton.

John Anſtis, *Eſq*; *made Garter Principal King of Arms, and rechoſe.* [*See Vol.* I. *p.* 42]

Edward Herle, *Eſq*; *deceaſed. In his Place*

Alexander Pendarves, *Eſq*;

Leſkard.

Philip Raſhleigh, *Eſq*;

Sir John Trelawney, *Bart.*

Leſtwithiel.

Thomas Liddell, *Eſq*; *deceaſed. In his Place*

Edward Eliot, *Eſq*; *one of the Commiſſioners of the Victualling-Office, and ſince made one of the Commiſſioners of the Exciſe.* [*See Vol.* I. *p.* 246.] *In his Place*

John Newſham, *Eſq*; [*See Vol.* I. *p.* 244.]

Galfridus Walpole, *Eſq*; *Treaſurer of* Greenwich *Hoſpital, made one of the Poſt-Maſters General. In his Place*

William Cavendiſh, *Marquis of* Hartington, *Heir Apparent of the Duke of* Devonſhire.

Truroe.

Spencer Cowper, *Eſq*; *made Chief Juſtice of* Cheſter, *and rechoſe.*

Colonel John Selwyn, *Clerk of the Green-Cloth to the Prince, made Receiver-General and Caſhier of his Majeſty's Cuſtoms. In his Place*

Thomas Wyndham, *Eſq*;

Bodmin.

John Leigh, *Eſq*;

Hon. Francis Robartes, *Eſq*; *one of the Commiſſioners for the Revenue in* Ireland, *deceaſed. In his Place*

Charles Beauclair, *Earl of* Burford, *Heir Apparent of the Duke of* St. Albans.

Helſton.

Sir Gilbert Heathcot, *Knt. Alderman of* London.

Sidney Goldolphin, *Eſq*; *Auditor for the Principality of* Wales, *and Governor of the Iſland of* Scilly.

Saltaſh.

Shilſton Calmady, *Eſq*;

John Francis Buller, *Eſq*;

Camelford.

Richard Coffin, *Eſq*:

James Mountague, *Eſq*;

Weſtlow.

Thomas Maynard, *Eſq*; *made Commiſſary-General of the Stores of War in* Minorca, *and rechoſe.*

George

George Delaval, *Rear-Admiral of his Majeſty's Fleet.*

Grampound.

Hon. John Weſt, *Eſq*; *Heir Apparent of the Lord* Delawar, *Lieutenant-Colonel of the firſt Troop of Horſe-Guards, and one of the Clerks of the Council in Extraordinary.*

Sir Charles Cook, *Knt. Alderman of* London, *and one of the Commiſſioners of Trade and Plantations, deceaſed. In his Place*

Richard Weſt, *Eſq*; *one of his Majeſty's Council at Law.*

Eaſtlow.

John Smith, *Eſq*; *one of the Tellers of the* Exchequer, P. C.

Sir James Bateman, *Knt. Alderman of* London, *deceaſed. In his Place*

Horatio Walpole, *Eſq*; *Auditor of the Trade and Plantation Accounts.*

Penryn.

Samuel Trefuſis, *Eſq*; [*See Vol.* I. *p.* 244.]

Hugh Boſcawen, *Eſq*; *made one of the Vice-Treaſurers and Pay-Maſters General of* Ireland, *and rechoſe.* P. C. *created Lord Viſcouut* Falmouth. *In his Place*

William Godolphin, *Lord Viſcount* Rialton, *Heir Apparent to the Earl of* Godolphin.

Tregony.

Sir Edmund Prideaux, *Bart. deceaſed. In his Place*

Charles Talbot, *Eſq*; *eldeſt Son of the Biſhop of* Durham.

James Craiggs, *Jun. Eſq*; *made Secretary at War, and rechoſe*; *then one of his Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State, and rechoſe,* P C. *deceaſed. In his Place*

Daniel Pulteney, *Eſq*; *one of the Commiſſioners of Trade and Plantations, made one of the Lords of the Admiralty. In his Place*

John Merril, *Eſq*;

Boſſiney.

Samuel Molineux, *Eſq*; *Secretary to the Prince.*

Henry Cartwright, *Eſq*; *made one of the Commiſſioners of the Victualling-Office, and rechoſe.*

St. Ives.

Lord Harry Paulet, *Brother of the Duke of* Bolton.

Sir John Hobart, *Bart. made one of the Commiſſioners of Trade and Plantations, and rechoſe.*

Fowey.

Johnathan Elford, *Eſq*;

Henry Vincent, *Eſq*; *one of the Commiſſioners of the Victualling-Office, deceaſed. In his Place*

Nicholas Vincent, *Eſq*;

St. Germans.

John Knight, *Eſq*; *made Secretary of the* Leeward Iſlands, *and rechoſe.*

Philip *Lord* Stanhope, *Heir Apparent of the Earl of* Cheſterfield, *one of the Gentlemen of the Bedchamber to the Prince.*

St. Michael.

Nathaniel Blakiſton, *Eſq*;

Robert Moleſworth, *Eſq*; *created Ld. Viſcount* Moleſworth *of* Ireland.

Newport.

Sir Nicholas Morrice, *Bart.*

Humphrey Morrice, *Eſq*;

St. Maws.

William Lownds, *Eſq*; *Secretary to the Treaſury.*

John Chetwynd, *Eſq*; *ſecond Brother of the Lord Viſcount* Chetwynd, *one of the Commiſſioners of Trade and Plantations.*

Kellington.

Sir John Coryton, *Bart.*

Samuel Rolle, *Eſq*; *deceaſed. In his Place*

Thomas Coppleſton, *Eſq*;

Cumberland.

James Lowther, *Eſq*;

Gilfrid Lawſon, *Eſq*;

Carliſle.

William Strickland, *Eſq*;

Major-

Major-General Thomas Stanwix, *Governor of* Chelſea-College, *made Governour of* Kingſton upon Hull. *In his Place*

Henry Aglionby, *Eſq*;
Cockermouth.

James Stanhope, *Eſq*; *made firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury. In his Place.*

Sir Thomas Pengelly, *Kt. his Majeſty's Primier Serjeant at Law.*

Nicholas Lechmere, *Eſq*; *made Chancellor of the Dutchy of* Lancaſter *for Life. In his Place*

Sir Wilfrid Lawſon, *Bart.* } Do. Re.
Lord Piercey Seymore, *deceaſed. In his Place* } *The former diſallowed.*

Hon. Anthony Lowther, *Eſq*;
Derbyſhire.

Sir John Curzon, *Bart.*

Godfrey Clarke, *Eſq*;
Derby.

Lord James Cavendiſh, *only Brother to the Duke of* Devonſhire.

Hon. William Stanhope, *Eſq*; *Ambaſſador Extraordinary to the Court of* Spain.
Devonſhire.

Sir William Courtenay, *Bart.*

Sir Copleſtone-Warwick Bampfield, *Bart.*
Exeter.

John Bampfield *Eſq*;

Francis Drew, *Eſq*;
Totneſs.

Stephen Northleigh *Eſq*;

Arthur Champernoon, *Eſq*; *deceaſed. In his Place*

Sir John Jermain, *Kt. and Bart. deceas'd. In his Place*

Charles Wills, *Eſq*; *made Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance, and rechoſe.* P. C.
Plymouth.

Sir John Rogers, *Bart*

Sir George Bing, *Kt. and Bart. Admiral of the* White, *and Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's Fleet; made alſo Treaſurer of his Navy, and rechoſe*; P. C. *created ſince Lord Viſcount* Torrington. *In his Place*

Hon. Pattee Bing, *Eſq*; *Heir apparent of the ſaid Lord* Torrington.
Okehampton.

William Northmore, *Jun. Eſq*;

Chriſtopher Harris, *Eſq*;
Barnſtable.

John Rolle, *Eſq*;

Sir Arthur Chicheſter, *Bart. deceaſed. In his Place*

John Baſſet, *Eſq*; *deceas'd. In his Place*

Sir Hugh Ackland, *Bart.*
Plympton.

Richard Edgcomb, *Eſq*, *made one of the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, and rechoſe; then reſign'd. And again a ſecond time one of the ſaid Commiſſioners, and rechoſe.*

George Treby, *Eſq*; *made Secretary at War, and rechoſe.*
Honiton.

William Yonge, *Eſq*; *made one of the Commiſſioners for ſtating the Debts due to the Army.*

Sir William Pole, *Bart.*
Taviſtock.

Sir John Cope, *Kt. and Bart.*

Sir Francis-Henry Drake, *Bart.*
Aſhburton.

Roger Tuckfield, *Eſq*;

Richard Reynell, *Eſq*;
Clifton, Dartmouth, Hardneſs.

John Foundes, *Jun. Eſq*;

Joſeph Herne, *Eſq*;
Bor-Alſton.

Lawrence Carter, *Eſq*; *made one of his Majeſty's Council at Law, and rechoſe; then Attorney-General to the Prince.*

Horatio Walpole, *Eſq*; *made Auditor of the Trade and Plantation Accounts. In his Place*

Hon. Edward Carteret, *Eſq*; *made one of*

of the Post-Masters General. In his Place

Philip Cavendish, *Esq*; *Treasurer of* Greenwich *Hospital, not duly elected. In his Place* [*See Vol.* I. *p.* 246.]

St. John Brodrick, *Esq*; *Heir apparent of the Lord Viscount* Brodrick *of* Ireland.

Tiverton.

Sir Edward Northey, *Kt.*

Thomas Bere, *Esq*; *one of the Commissioners of the Victualling-Office.*

Dorsetshire.

Thomas Strangeways, *Esq*;

George Chaffin, *Esq*;

Poole.

Sir William Lewen, *Kt. Alderman of* London.

George Trenchard, *Esq*;

Dorchester.

Sir Nathaniel Napier, *Bart.*

Henry Trenchard, *Esq*; *deceased. In his Place*

Robert Browne, jun. *Esq*; *not duly elected. In his Place*

Abraham Janssen, *Esq*;

Lyme-Regis.

John Henly, *Esq*;

John Burridge, jun. *Esq*;

Weymouth.

Daniel Harvey, *Esq*; *Lieutenant-General of his Majesty's Forces, and Governor of the Island of* Guernsey.

John Baker, *Esq*; *Vice-Admiral of the Blue, deceased. In his Place*

Edward Harrison, *Esq*;

Melcomb-Regis.

William Betts, *Esq*;

Thomas Littleton, *Esq*;

Bridport.

William Coventry, *Esq*; *made one of the Clerks-Comptrollers of the Greencloth, and rechose; then became Earl of* Coventry. *In his Place*

Sir Dewy Bulkeley, *Kt.*

John Strangeways, *Esq*; *not duly elected. In his Place chosen*

Peter Walter, *Esq*;

Shaftsbury.

Edward Nicholas, *Esq*; } *not duly*
Samuel Rush, *Esq*; } *elected.*

In their Places

Edward Nicholas, *Esq*; *rechose.*

William Benson, *Esq*; *made his Majesty's Surveyor-General*; *not duly re-elected. In his Place*

Sir Edward Desbouverie, *Bart.*

Wareham.

Lieutenant-General Thomas Erle, *Lieutenant of the Ordnance, and Governor of* Portsmouth, *since deceased, chose in his Place, for accepting a Pension from the Crown during Pleasure,*

Henry Drax, *Esq*;

George Pitt, jun. *Esq*;

Corfe-Castle.

Dennis Bond, *Esq*; *Letter-Carrier to the Government, and a Commissioner for the forfeited Estates.*

William Okeden, *Esq*; *deceased. In his Place*

John Banks, *Esq*;

Joshua Churchil, *Esq*; *made one of the Commissioners of the Victualling Office, and rechose, dec. In his Place* } D. R. *The former taken off the File.*

John Bond, *Esq*;

Durham *County.*

Sir John Eden, *Bart.*

John Hedworth, *Esq*;

Durham.

Thomas Conyers, *Esq*;

George Baker, *Esq*;

Essex.

Sir Richard Child, *Bart. created Lord Viscount* Castlemain *of* Ireland.

Thomas Middleton, *Esq*; *deceased. In his Place*

William Harvey, *Esq*; *not duly elected. In his Place*

Robert Honywood, *Esq*;

Colchester.

Sir Isaac Rebow, *Kt.*

Richard Ducane, *Esq*;

Malden.

Thomas Bramſton, *Eſq;*

John Comyns, *Eſq; Serjeant at Law; not duly elected. In his Place*

Samuel Tuffnel, *Eſq; one of the Commiſſioners of the Equivalent.*

Harwich.

Thomas Heath, *Eſq;*

Sir Philip Parker, *Bart.*

Glouceſterſhire.

Thomas Stephens, *Eſq; deceaſed. In his Place*

Hon. Henry Berkeley, *Eſq; ſecond Brother of the Earl of* Berkley.

Matthew Ducie Moreton, *Eſq; made one of the Vice-Treaſurers and Paymaſters General of* Ireland, *and rechoſe; created ſince Baron* Ducie de Moreton. *In his Place*

Edmond Bray, *Eſq;*

Gloceſter.

John Snell, *Eſq;*

Charles Cox, *Eſq;*

Cirenceſter.

Thomas Maiſters, *Eſq;*

Benjamin Bathurſt, *Eſq youngeſt Brother to the Lord* Bathurſt.

Tewkſbury.

William Dowdeſwell, *Eſq;*

Anthony Lechmere, *Eſq; made Receiver General of the Cuſtoms; and ſince deceaſed. In his Place*

Nicholas Lechmere, *Eſq; Chancellor of the Dutchy of* Lancaſter, *made his Majeſty's Attorney-General, and re-choſe; created Baron* Lechmere *of* Eveſham. *In his Place choſe*

Thomas Gage, *Eſq; Lord Viſcount* Gage *of* Ireland.

Herefordſhire.

Richard Hopton, *Eſq;*

Sir Thomas Morgan, *Bart. dec. In his Place*

Sir Hungerford Hoſkins, *Bart.*

Hereford.

Thomas Foley, *Eſq; one of the Auditors of the Impreſt.*

James Scudamore, *Lord Viſcount* Scudamore *of* Ireland, *dec. In his Place*

Herbert Rudhal Weſtfaling, *Eſq; made one of the Commiſſioners for ſtating the Debts due to the Army.*

Leominſter.

Edward Harley, *Eſq; one of the Auditors of the Impreſt.*

Thomas Coningſby, *Lord* Coningsby *of* Ireland; *created a Peer of* Great-Britain. *In his Place choſe*

Sir George Caſwall, *Kt. not duly elected, but afterwards re-choſe; expell'd the Houſe, and committed to the* Tower. [*See* Vol. I. p. 237.] *In his Place*

William Bateman, *Eſq;*

Weobly.

Charles Cornwal, *Eſq; Vice-Admiral of the Blue, and Comptroller of the Stores of the Navy, dec. In his Place*

Nicholas Philpot, *Eſq;*

Paul Foley, *Eſq; not duly elected. In his Place*

John Birch, *Eſq; Serjeant at Law, and one of the Commiſſioners for the forfeited Eſtates.*

Herefordſhire.

Sir Thomas Saunders Sebright, *Bart.*

Ralph Freeman, *Eſq;*

St. Albans.

William Grimſtone, *Eſq; created Lord-Viſcount* Grimſtone *of* Ireland.

William Hale, *Eſq; dec. In his Place*

Joſhua Lomax, *Eſq;*

Hertford.

Charles Cæſar, *Eſq;* } *not duly*
Richard Gulſton, *Eſq;* } *elected.*

In their Places

Sir Thomas Clerke, *Kt.*

John Boteler, *one of the Commiſſioners of the Equivalent.*

Huntingdonſhire.

Robert Piggot, *Eſq;*

John Bigg, *Eſq;*

Hun-

Huntingdon.

Hon. Sidney Wortley Montagu, *Eſq;*
Edward *Lord* Hinchingbroke, *only Son of the Earl of* Sandwich, *Col. of Foot, Lord-Lieutenant and* Cuſtos Rotulorum *of the County of* Huntingdon.

Kent.

William Delaune, *Eſq;*
Hon. Mildmay Fane, *Eſq; youngeſt Brother of the Earl of* Weſtmorland, *deceas'd. In his Place*
Hon. John Fane, *Eſq; Colonel of the firſt Troops of Grenadier-Guards.*

Canterbury.

John Hardreſs, *Eſq;*
Sir Thomas Hales, *Bart. one of the Commiſſioners for the forfeited Eſtates.*

Rocheſter.

Sir Thomas Palmer, *Bart.*
Sir John Jennings, *Kt. Admiral of the White, made one of the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, and re-choſe; then Maſter of* Greenwich *Hoſpital, and rechoſe.*

Maidſtone.

Sir Thomas Colepeper, *Bart.*
Sir Robert Marſham, *Bart. created Lord* Romney. *In his Place*
Sir Barnham Rider, *Kt.*

Queenborough.

Col. Thomas King, *Lieutenant-Governor of* Sheerneſs.
Philip Jennings, *Eſq;*

Lancaſhire.

Sir John Bland, *Bart.*
Richard Shuttleworth, *Eſq;*

Preſton.

Henry Fleetwood, *Eſq;*
Sir Henry Houghton, *Bart. one of the Commiſſioners of the forfeited Eſtates.*

Lancaſter.

Doddington Braddyl, *Eſq;*
William Heyſham, *Eſq; deceaſed. In his Place choſe*
William Heyſham, *Eſq; one of the Six Clerks in* Chancery.

Newton.

Sir Francis Leiceſter, *Bart.*
William Shippen, *Eſq;*

Wigan.

Sir Roger Bradſhaigh, *Bart.*
James Barry, *Earl of* Barrimore, *of* Ireland.

Clithero.

Thomas Liſter, *Eſq;*
Edward Harvey, *Eſq; See* Vol. I. p. 42. } D. R.
Thomas Parker, *Eſq;* }
Mr. Parker *declined his Election, and his Name was razed out of the Return.*

Leverpool.

Sir Thomas Johnſon, *Kt.*
Edward Norris, *Eſq;*

Leiceſterſhire.

Sir Jeffery Palmer, *Bart.*
Sir Thomas Cave, *Bart. deceaſed. In his Place*
Lord William Manners, *ſecond Brother of the Duke of* Rutland.

Leiceſter.

Sir George Beaumont, *Bart.*
James Winſtanley, *Eſq; dec. In his Place*
Thomas Noble, *Eſq;*

Lincolnſhire.

Sir John Brownlow, *Bart. created Lord Viſcount* Tyrconnel *of* Ireland.
Sir Willoughby Hickman, *Bart. deceaſed. In his Place*
Sir William Maſſingbeard, *Bart.*

Lincoln.

Sir John Tirwit, *Bart.*
Richard Grantham, *Eſq; one of the Commiſſioners for the forfeited Eſtates.*

Boſton.

Henry Heron, *Eſq;*
Richard Wynn, *Eſq; deceaſed. In his Place*
Richard Ellis, *Eſq;*

Great Grimsby.

Joseph Banks, *Esq;*

Sir Robert Chaplin, *Bart. expelled the House for a notorious Breach of Trust, as a Director of the* South-Sea *Company.* [*See Vol.* I. *p.* 231.] *In his Place*

Arthur Moor, *Esq;*

Stamford.

Hon. Charles Cecil, *Esq; second Brother of the Earl of* Exeter.

Hon. Charles Bertie, *Esq;*

Grantham.

Edward Rolt, *Esq;*

John Heathcote, *Esq;*

Middlesex.

Hon. James Bertie, *Esq; second Brother of the Earl of* Abington.

Hugh Smithson, *Esq;*

Westminster.

Sir Thomas Cross, *Bart.*

Hon. Edward Wortley Montagu, *Esq; Ambassador Extraordinary to the* Ottoman Porte.

London.

Sir John Ward, } *Knts. Alderm.*
Sir Thomas Scawen, }

Peter Godfrey, *Esq;*

Robert Heysham, *Esq; Alderman.*

Monmouthshire.

Thomas Lewis, *Esq;*

John Morgan, *Esq; Lord Lieutenant of the said County, and of* Brecon; *deceas'd. In his Place*

John Hanbury, *Esq;*

Monmouth.

William Bray, *Esq; deceased. In his Place*

Hon. Andrew Windsor, *Esq; youngest Brother of the Lord Visc.* Windsor.

Norfolk.

Sir Jacob Astley, *Knt. and Bart.*

Thomas de Grey, *Esq;*

Norwich.

Waller Bacon, *Esq; Commissary of the Stores of War in the Island of* Minorca.

Robert Brittiffe, *Esq;*

Lyn-Regis.

Sir Charles Turner, *Knt. made one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, and rechose.*

Robert Walpole, *Esq; one of the Lords of the* Treasury, *made Pay-Master General of his Majesty's Forces, and rechose; and since Chancellor of the* Exchequer, *and first Commissioner of the* Treasury, *and rechose.* P. C.

Great Yarmouth.

George England, *Esq;*

Hon. Horatio Townshend, *Esq;*

Thetford.

John Ward, *Esq;*

Dudley North, *Esq;*

Castlerising.

Hon. William Fielding, *Esq; made one of the Clerks Comptrollers of his Majesty's Household; and rechose.*

Colonel Charles Churchill, *Groom of the Bedchamber to the Prince, made Governor of* Chelsea *Hospital; and rechose.*

Northamptonshire.

Sir Justinian Isham, *Bart.*

Thomas Cartwright, *Esq;*

City of *Peterborough.*

John Fitz-Williams, *Earl* Fitz-Williams *of* Ireland.

Charles Parker, *Esq;*

Town of *Northampton.*

William Wykes, *Esq;*

George Montague, *Esq; created Earl of* Hallifax. *In his Place chose*

William Wilmer, *Esq;*

Brackley.

Hon. William Egerton, *Esq; second Brother to the Duke of* Bridgewater.

Paul Methuen, *Esq; one of the Lords of the* Treasury, *but made Secretary of State in the Absence of Mr.* Stanhope, *and rechose; and since Comptroller of his Majesty's Household, and rechose.* P. C.

Higham Ferrers.

Hon. Charles Leigh, *Esq; only Brother to the Lord* Leigh.

Northumberland.

Algernoon Seymour, *Earl of* Hertford, *only Son to the Duke of* Somerſet, *Governor of* Tinmouth Fort, *Captain of the ſecond Troop of Guards, and Lord Lieutenant of the County of* Suſſex.

Thomas Forſter, *Jun. Eſq; expelled the Houſe for being concerned in the Rebellion*; [*See Vol.* I. *p.* 60] *In his Place choſe*

Francis Blake, *alias* Delavall, *Eſq;*
Newcaſtle upon Tyne.

Sir William Blacket, *Bart.*

William Wrightſon, *Eſq;*
Morpeth.

Henry Howard, *Lord Viſcount* Morpeth, *Heir Apparent to the Earl of* Carliſle.

George Carpenter, *Eſq; only Son of the Lord* Carpenter, *Captain of the Guards.*
Berwick upon Tweed.

Grey Neville, *Eſq;*

John Barrington Schute, *Eſq; created Lord Viſcount* Barrington *of* Ireland.

Nottinghamſhire.

Hon. Francis Willoughby, *Eſq; Heir Apparent to the Lord* Middleton.

William Levinz, *Eſq;*
Nottingham.

John Plumtre, *Eſq; made Treaſurer and Pay-Maſter of his Majeſty's Ordnance, and rechoſe.*

George Gregory, *Eſq; one of the Commiſſioners of the forfeited Eſtates, and ſince made Store-keeper of the Ordnance.*
Eaſt-Rhetford.

John Digby, *Eſq;*

Thomas White, *Eſq; made Clerk of the Ordnance, and rechoſe.*
Newark upon Trent.

Richard Sutton, *Eſq; Brigadier-General of his Majeſty's Army.*

Hon. Conyers Darcy, *Eſq; made Maſter of his Majeſty's Houſhold, and rechoſe; and Lord Lieutenant of the North-Riding of the County of* York.

Oxon.

Sir Robert Jenkinſon, *Bart. deceaſed. In his Place*

Sir Robert Banks Jenkinſon, *Bart.*

Francis Clerk *of* Weſton, *Eſq; deceaſed. In his Place*

James Herbert, *Eſq; deceaſed. In his Place*

Henry Perrot, *Eſq;*
Univerſity of *Oxford.*

William Bromley, *Eſq;*

Sir William Whitlock, *Knt. one of his Majeſty's Council at Law, deceaſed. In his Place choſe*

George Clarke, *L. L. D.*
Oxford.

Sir John Walter, *Bart.*

Thomas Rowney, *Eſq;*
Woodſtock.

Lieutenant General William Cadogan, *created Baron* Reading. *In his Place choſe*

William Clayton, *Eſq; Deputy Auditor of the* Exchequer; *made one of the Lords of the* Treaſury, *and rechoſe.*

Sir Thomas Wheat, *Bart. made Keeper of the Stores of the Ordnance, and rechoſe, deceaſed. In his Place*

Thomas Criſp, *Eſq;*
Banbury.

Sir Jonathan Cope, *Bart.*

Rutlandſhire.

Daniel *Lord* Finch, *Gentleman of the Bedchamber to the Prince in Extraordinary.*

Hon. John Noel, *Eſq; deceaſed. In his Place*

John *Marquis of* Granby, *became Duke of* Rutland. *In his Place*

Sir Thomas Mackworth, *Bart.*

Salop.

Henry *Lord Viſcount* Newport, *Heir Apparent to the Earl of* Bradford.

Sir

Sir Robert Corbet, *Bart. made one of the Clerks Comptrollers of his Majeſty's Houſhold, and rechoſe.*

Salop.

Corbet Kynaſton, *Eſq;* [*See Vol.* I. *p.* 42]

Thomas Jones, *Eſq; deceaſed. In his Place choſe*

Andrew Corbet, *Eſq;*

Bridgnorth.

William Whitmore, *Eſq;*

John Weaver, *Eſq;*

Ludlow.

Humphrey Walcot, *Eſq;*

Francis Herbert, *Eſq; deceaſed. In his Place*

Sir Robert Raymond, *Knt. made Attorney-General, and rechoſe; choſe before in this Parliament for* Yarmouth *in the* Iſle of Wight.

Great Wenlock.

William Forreſter, *Eſq;*

Hon. Thomas Newport, *Eſq; created Baron* Torrington. *In his Place*

Sir Humphrey Briggs, *Bart.*

Biſhop's-Caſtle.

Charles Maſon, *Eſq;*

Richard Harnage, *Eſq; deceaſed. Choſe in his Place*

Sir Matthew Decker, *Bart.*

Somerſetſhire.

Sir William Wyndham, *Bart.*

William Hellier, *Eſq;* [*See Vol.* I. *p.* 17 and 42.]

Briſtol.

Joſeph Earle, *Eſq;*

Sir William Daines, *Knt.*

Bath.

John Codrington, *Eſq;*

Samuel Trotman, *Eſq; deceaſed. In his Place*

Robert Gay, *Eſq;*

Wells.

Maurice Berkley, *Eſq;* } *not duly elected.*
Thomas Horner, *Eſq;* }

In their Places

William Piers, *Eſq;*

William Coward, *Eſq; deceaſed. In his Place*

Thomas Horner, *Eſq; aforeſaid, again not duly elected. In his Place*

John Dodd, *Eſq; deceaſed. In his Place*

Thomas Edwards, *Jun. Eſq;*

Taunton.

Sir Francis Warr, *Bart.* } *not duly elected.*
Henry Portman, *Eſq;* }

In their Places

Sir William Pinſent, *Bart.*

James Smith, *Eſq;*

Bridgwater.

Thomas Palmer, *Eſq;*

George Doddington, *Eſq; Lord Lieutenant of the County of Somerſet, deceaſed. In his Place*

William Pitt, *Eſq;*

Minehead.

Sir John Trevelyan, *Bart.* } *not duly elected.*
Sir Wil. Wyndham, *Bart.* }

In their Places

Thomas Gage, *Eſq; created ſince Lord Viſcount* Gage *of* Ireland. } *not duly elected.*
Samuel Edwin, *Eſq; Uſher of the* Exchequer. *In their Places* }

Sir John Trevelyan *aforeſaid, rechoſe.*

James Milner, *Eſq; deceaſed. In his Place*

Sir Richard Lane, *Knt. not duly elected. In his Place*

Hon. Robert Manſel, *Eſq; Heir Apparent to the Lord* Manſel.

Ilcheſter.

William Bellamy, *Eſq; Auditor of the North Part of the Dutchy of* Lancaſter, *and Prothonotary of the ſaid Dutchy.*

John Hopkins, *Eſq;*

Milbourn Port.

James Medlicot, *Eſq;*

John Cox, *Eſq; deceaſed. In his Place choſe*

Michael

Michael Harvey, *Esq*; *not duly elected. In his Place*

Charles Stanhope, *Esq*; *made his Majesty's Treasurer of the Chamber, and rechose.* [*See* Vol. I. p. 235.]

Southampton.

George Pitt, *Esq*;

John Wallop, *Esq*; *made one of the the Commissioners of the* Treasury, *and rechose*; *created Lord Viscount* Lymington. *In his Place*

Lord Nassau Pawlet, *youngest Brother of the Duke of* Bolton.

Winchester.

George Bridges *Esq*;

Lord Willlam Pawlet, *made one of the Tellers of the* Exchequer, *and rechose.*

Southampton.

Richard Fleming, *Esq*;

Thomas Lewis, *Esq*;

Portsmouth.

Sir Edward Earnley, *Bart.*

Sir Charles Wager, *Kt. Vice Admiral of the* Red, *made* Comptroller *of the Navy, and rechose*; *then one of the Commissioners of the* Admiralty, *and rechose.*

Yarmouth.

Henry Holmes, *Esq*;
Sir Robert Raymond, *Kt.* } *not duly elected.*
In their Places

Anthony Morgan, *Esq*; *Deputy Governor of the Isle of* Wight.

Sir Theodore Janssen, *Kt. and Bart. expelled the House for a notorious Breach of Trust, as a Director of the* South-Sea *Company.* [*See* Vol. I. p. 231.]

William Plumer, *Esq*;

Petersfield.

Norton Paulett, *Esq*;

Leonard Bilson, *Esq*; *deceased. In his Place chose*

Samuel Pargiter Fuller, *Esq*;

Newport.

William Stephens, *Esq*;

James Stanhope, *Esq*; *Chancellor and Under Treasurer of the* Exchequer, *created Lord Viscount* Stanhope. *In his Place*

Sir Tristram Dillington, *Bart. dec. In his Place*

Thomas Stanwix, *Esq*; *Governor of* Kingston upon Hull.

Stockbridge.

Thomas Broderick, *Esq*; *Brother of the Lord Viscount* Broderick,

Col. Martin Bladen, *Comptroller of the* Mint, *made one of the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, and rechose.*

Newtown.

James Worsley, *Esq*;

Sir Robert Worsley *Bart.*

Christ-Church.

Sir Peter Mews, *Kt. Chancellor of the Diocese of* Winchester.

William Ettricke, *Esq*; *Solicitor for the Affairs of the Admiralty, dec. In his Place*

Francis Gwyn, *Esq*;

Lymington.

Richard Chandler, *Esq*;

Sir Joseph Jekyll, *Kt. Chief Justice of* Chester, *made Master of the* Rolls, *and rechose.* P. C.

Whitchurch.

Lieutenant General George Carpenter, *General of his Majesty's Forces in* Scotland, *and Governor of the Island of* Minorca, *and* Port-Mahon; *created Baron* Carpenter *of* Ireland.

Thomas Vernon, *Esq*; *expell'd the House for making a corrupt Application to General* Rosse *in a Matter depending before the House.* [*See* Vol. I. p. 245.] *In his Place*

Frederick Tilney, *Esq*; *not duly elected. In his Place*

John Conduit *Esq*;

Andover.

William Guidott *Esq*;

Hon.

Hon. James Brudenel, *Esq*; *made Master of the Jewel-Office, and re-chose.*

Staffordshire.

Henry *Lord* Paget, *Heir apparent of the Earl of* Uxbridge.

William Ward, *Esq*; *dec. In his Place*

Hon. William Leveson-Gower, *Esq*; *second Brother of the Lord* Gower.

Litchfield.

Samuel Hill, *Esq*;

Water Chetwynd, *Esq*; *made Paymaster of divers annual Bounties and Pensions. In his Place*

William Sneyd, *Esq*; *not duly elected. In whose Place*

Walter Chetwynd, *Esq*; *aforesaid re chose.*

Stafford.

Walter Chetwynd, *created Lord Viscount* Chetwynd *of* Ireland, *chief Ranger of St.* James's *Park.*

William Chetwynd, *Esq*; *made Commissioner of the Admiralty, and re-chose.*

Newcastle under Line.

Rowland Cotton, *Esq*; } *not duly*
Henry Vernon, *Esq*; } *elected.*
In their Places

Sir Bryan Broughton, *Bart.* } *Gentlemen of*
Crew Offly *Esq*; } *the Privy-Chamber.*

Tamworth.

Samuel Bracebridge, *Esq*;

William Ing, *Esq*;

Suffolk.

Sir Thomas Hanmer *Bart.*

Sir Robert Davers, *Bart.*

Ipswich.

Sir William Thompson, *Kt. Recorder of the City of* London, *made his Majesty's Solicitor-General, and re-chose.*

William Churchill, *Esq*; *made his Majesty's Bookseller, Bookbinder and Stationer. In his Place*

Francis Negus *Esq*; *Commissioner for executing the Office of Master of the Horse.*

Dunwich.

Sir Robert Rich, *Bart. Groom of the Bedchamber to the Prince.*

Col. Charles Long, *one of the Commissioners for the Forfeited Estates.*

Orford.

Clement Corrance, *Esq*;

Sir Edward Turner, *Kt. dec. In his Place*

Sir Richard Duke, *Bart.*

Aldborough.

William Johnson, *Esq*; *dec. In his Place*

Samuel Low, *Esq*; *Comptroller of the Ordnance in* Ireland.

Sir Henry Johnson, *Kt. dec. In his Place*

Walter Plumer, *Esq*;

Sudbury.

Sir Harvey Elwes *Bart.*

Thomas Western, *Esq*;

Eye.

Edward Hopkins, *Esq*; *made one of the Commissioners of the Revenue in* Ireland, *and rechose.*

Thomas Smith, *Esq*;

St. Edmundsbury.

Carr, *Lord* Hervey, *Heir apparent of the Earl of* Bristol, *one of the Gentlemen of the Bedchamber to the Prince.*

Aubrie Porter, *Esq*; *dec. In his Place*

James Reynolds *Esq*; *Serjeant at Law, and Recorder of the said Borough.*

Surrey.

Heneage Finch, *Lord* Guernsey, *became Earl of* Aylesford. *In his Place*

John Walter, *Esq*;

Sir Richard Onslow, *one of the Tellers of the* Exchequer, *created Baron* Onslow. *In his Place*

Thomas Onslow, *Esq*; *his Son*; *Out Ranger*

Ranger of Windsor *Forest, became Lord* Anslow. *In his Place*

Denzil Onslow, *Esq; one of the Commissioners of the Victualling-Office, and Out-Ranger of* Windsor *Forest, dec. In his Place*

Sir William Scawen, *Kt.*

Southwark.

John Lade, *Esq;*

Sir Fisher Tench, *Bart.*

Blechingly.

George Evelyn *Esq; one of the Clerks of the Green-cloth to the Prince of* Wales.

Thomas Onslow, *Esq; made Out Ranger of* Windsor *Forest. In his Place chose*

William Clayton *Esq;*

Rygate.

James Cocks, *Esq;*

Sir John Parsons, *Kt. dec. In his Place*

William Jordan, *Esq; dec. In his Place*

Thomas Jordan *Esq;*

Guildford.

Morgan Randyl, *Esq;*

Denzil Onslow, *Esq; one of the Commissioners of the Victuallnig-Office, made Out-Ranger of* Windsor *Forest. Chose in his Place*

General Robert Wroth, *one of the Clerks of the Green-cloth, dec. In his Place*

Arthur Onslow, *Esq;*

Gatton.

William Newland, *Esq;*

Paul Docminique, *Esq; one of the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations.*

Haslemere.

Sir Nicholas Carew, *Bart.*

Sir Mountague Blundel, *Bart. created Lord Viscount* Blundel *of* Ireland.

Sussex.

Hon. Spencer Compton, *Esq;* SPEAKER, *Treasurer, to the Prince,* P. C. *since made Paymaster General of his Majesty's Forces, and also of* Chelsea College.

James Butler, *Esq;*

Chichester.

Sir Thomas Miller, *Bart.*

Sir Richard Farington, *Bart. dec. Chose in his Place*

Henry Kelsel, *Esq; one of the chief Clerks of the Treasury.*

Horsham.

Sir Harry Goreing, *Bart.* } *not duly elected; In their Places*

Charles Eversfield, *Esq;* }

Arthur Ingram *Esq; one of the Commissioners of the forfeited Estates.*

Hon. Arthur Ingram, *became Lord Viscount* Irwin. *In his Place*

Charles Eversfield, *aforesaid.*

Midhurst.

John Fortescue Aland, *Esq; made his Majesty's Sollicitor General, and rechose; then one of the Barons of the* Exchequer. *In his Place*

Alan, *Lord Viscount* Broderick *of* Ireland, *late Lord Chancellor there.*

William Knight, *alias* Woodward, *Esq; dec. In his Place*

Sir Richard Mills, *Bart.*

Lewes.

Thomas Pelham, *Esq; made one of the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, and rechose.*

John Morley Trevor, *Esq; dec. In his Place*

Sir Philip York, *Kt. made his Majesty's Sollicitor General, and rechose.*

New-Shoreham

Sir Nathaniel Gould, *Kt.*

Sir Gregory Page, *Kt. and Bart. dec. In his Place*

Francis Chamberlain, *Esq;*

Bramber.

Sir Richard Gough *Kt.*

Sir Thomas Stiles *Bart. not duly elected. In his Place*

Edward Minshul, *Esq;*

Steyning.

Major General John Pepper, *Col. of Dragoons, and Ranger of the Foreſt of* Epping.

Robert Leeves, *Eſq; not duly elected. In his Place*

William Wallis *Eſq;*

Eaſt-Grinſted.

John Conyers *Eſq; one of his Majeſty's Council at Law.*

Richard Boyle, *Lord Viſconnt* Shannon *of* Ireland, *Lieutenant General of his Forces.*

Arundel.

Hon. Henry Lumley, *Eſq; General of the Horſe, and Governor of the Iſland of* Jerſey.

Thomas Micklethwait, *Eſq; made one of the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, and rechoſe, then Lieutenant General of the Ordnance, dec. In his Place*

Joſeph Micklethwait, *Eſq;*

Warwickſhire.

Andrew Archer, *Eſq;*

William Peytoe, *Eſq;*

Coventry.

Sir Thomas Samwel, *Bart.*

Sir Adolphus Oughton, *Kt. and Bar. Major of the Guards.*

Warwick.

Hon. Dodington Grevil, *Eſq;*

William Colemore, *Jun. Eſq;*

Weſtmorland.

Hon. James Grahme, *Eſq; Brother to the Lord Viſcount* Preſton.

Daniel Wilſon, *Eſq;*

Apulby.

Sir Richard Sandford, *Bart. Warden of the Mint.*

Thomas Lutwyche, *Eſq; one of his Majeſty's Council at Law.*

Wiltſhire.

Sir Richard How, *Bart.*

Robert Hide, *Eſq;*

New Sarum.

Edward Lambert, *Eſq;*

Francis Swanton, *Eſq; deceaſed. In Place*

Andrew Duncomb, *Eſq;*

Wilton.

John London, *Eſq;*

Thomas Pit, *Jun. Eſq; Colonel of Horſe, created Baron of* Londonderry *in* Ireland.

Downeton.

Charles Longueville, *Eſq;*

John Eyre, *Eſq; deceaſed. In his Place*

Gyles Eyre, *Eſq;*

Hindon.

George Wade, *Eſq; Major General of his Majeſty's Forces.*

Reynolds Calthorpe, *Eſq; deceaſed. In his Place*

John Pitt, *Eſq; Colonel of the Guards.*

Heytesbury.

Edward Aſh, *Eſq; made one of the Commiſſioners of Trade and Plantations, and rechoſe.*

William Aſh, *Eſq;*

Weſtbury.

Hon. Willoughby Bertie, *Eſq;* } *Double Return.*

Francis Anneſly, *Eſq;* } *Voted not duly elected. In their Places*

George Evans, *Eſq; created Lord* Carbery *of the Kingdom of* Ireland.

Charles Allanſon, *Eſq;*

Calne.

Sir Orlando Bridgman *Bart. one of the Clerks of the* Green-cloth *to the Prince.*

Richard Chiſwell, *Eſq;*

Devizes.

Joſiah Diſton *Eſq; Deputy Governor of the Bank of* England.

Francis Eyles, *Eſq; expelled the Houſe for a notorious Breach of Truſt, as a Director of the* South-Sea Company. [*See* Vol. I. p. 230.] *In his Place*

Benjamin Haskin Styles, *Eſq;*

Chippenham.

Chippenham.

Sir John Eyles *Bart. Alderman of* London, *one of the Commiſſioners for the forfeited Eſtates, and Sub-Governor of the* South-Sea Company.

Giles Erle, *Eſq; Groom of the Bedchamber to the Prince, made one of the Clerks Comptrollers of his Majeſty's Houſhold, and rechoſe.*

Malmesbury.

Sir John Ruſhout, *Bart.*

Joſeph Addiſon, *Eſq; made a Commiſſioner of Trade, and rechoſe; and late one of his Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State, and rechoſe.* P. C. *dec. In his Place*

Fleetwood Dormer, *Eſq;*

Cricklade.

Sir Thomas Read, *Bart. Gentleman of the Privy-chamber.*

Jacob Sawbridge, *Eſq; expelled the Houſe for a notorious Breach of Truſt, as a Director of the* South-Sea Company. [*See* Vol. I. p. 231.] *In his Place*

Hon. Mathew Ducie Moreton, *Eſq; Heir apparent of the Lord* Moreton.

Bedwin.

Stephen Biſs, *Eſq; a Commiſſioner of the Equivalent, and ſince made one of the Commiſſioners of the Victualling-Office.*

William Sloper, *Eſq; Secretary to the Pay-Maſter General.*

Ludgerſhall.

Lieutenant General John Richmond Webb, *Governor of the* Iſle of Wight.

John Ivory Talbot, *Eſq;*

Old-Sarum.

Thomas Pitt, *Eſq; made Governor of* Jamaica. *In his Place choſe*

Sir William Strickland, *Bart. made Commiſſary General of the Muſters, and rechoſe.*

Robert Pitt, *Eſq;*

Wotton Baſſet.

Sir James Long, *Bart.*

William Northey *Eſq;*

Marlborough.

Sir William Humphreys *Kt. and Bart. Alderman of* London.

Joſhua Ward *Eſq; not duly elected. In his Place*

Gabriel Roberts, *Eſq;*

Worceſterſhire.

Sir John Packington, *Bart.* [*See* Vol. I. p. 42.]

Thomas Vernon, *Eſq; dec. In his Place*

Sir Thomas Littleton *Bart.*

Worceſter.

Thomas Wylde *Eſq; made one of the Commiſſioners of the Revenue in* Ireland, *and rechoſe.*

Samuel Swift, *Eſq; dec. In his Place*

Samuel Sandys, *Eſq;*

Droitwich.

Richard Foley, *Eſq; one of the Prothonotaries of the Court of* Common-Pleas.

Edward Winnington Jefferys *Eſq; one of the* Welſh *Judges.*

Eveſham.

John Rudge, *Eſq; Deputy Governor of the* South-Sea Company.

John Deacle, *Eſq;*

Bewdley.

Grey James Grove, *Eſq; made one of the Commiſſioners for ſtating the Debts due to the Army.*

Yorkſhire.

Henry Dawney, *Lord Viſcount* Down *of* Ireland.

Sir Arthur Kay, *Bart.*

York.

Sir William Robinſon, *Bart.*

Tobias Jenkins, *Eſq;*

Kingſton upon Hull.

Sir William St. Quintin *Bart. one of the Lords of the Treaſury, and ſince made Vice Treaſurer, Receiver-General, and Pay-Maſter General of* Ireland, *and rechoſe.*

William Maiſter, *Eſq; deceaſed. In his Place*

Nathaniel Rogers, *Eſq*;
Knaresborough.
Robert Hitch, *Eſq*; *made one of the Commiſſioners for ſtating the Debts due to the Army.*
Harry Coote, *Earl of* Montrath, *of* Ireland, *deceaſed. In his Place*
Hon. Richard Arundel, *Eſq*;
Scarborough.
William Thompſon, *Eſq*; *made Warden of his Majeſty's Mint*; *and rechoſe.*
John Hungerford, *Eſq*; *Curſitor of* Yorkſhire *and* Weſtmorland.
Rippon.
John Aiſlabie, *Eſq*; *Treaſurer of the Navy, then made one of the Lords of the Treaſury, Chancellor and Under-Treaſurer of the* Fxchequer, *and rechoſe.* P. C. *Expelled the Houſe, and committed to the Tower, for combining with the late Directors of the* South-Sea *Company, in their Breach of Truſt*, &c. [*See Vol.* I. *p.* 236.] *In his Place*
John Aiſlabie, *Jun. Eſq*;
Chriſtopher Wandesford, *Lord Viſcount* Caſtlecomer *of* Ireland, *deceaſed. In his Place*
William Aiſlabie, *Eſq*;
Richmond.
Thomas York, *Eſq*; *deceaſed. In his Place*
John York, *Eſq*;
Hon. Harry Mordaunt, *Eſq*; *ſecond Brother to the Earl of* Peterborough, *Treaſurer of the Ordnance, deceaſed. In his Place*
Richard Abel, *Eſq*;
Heydon.
William Pulteney, *Eſq*; *Lord Lieutenant of the* Eaſt-Riding *of* Yorkſhire, P. C.
Hugh Cholmeley, *Eſq*; *Surveyor General of all the King's Honours, Caſtles*, &c. *made one of the Commiſſioners of the Victualling Office, and rechoſe.*
Borough Bridge.
Sir Richard Steel, *Knt. Maſter of the Play-Houſe, and one of the Commiſſioners for the forfeited Eſtates.*
Thomas Wilkinſon, *Eſq*; *made Receiver General of the Duties on Houſes for the County of* York, Durham, *and* Northumberland; *choſe in his Place*
Sir Wilfred Lawſon, *Bart. made one of the Grooms of his Majeſty's Bedchamber, and rechoſe.*
Malton.
Hon. Thomas Wentworth, *Eſq*; *ſecond Brother of the Earl of* Rockingham.
Thomas Wentworth, *Jun. Son of the ſaid* Thomas.
Thirſk.
Thomas Frankland, *Eſq*; *made Clerk of the Deliveries, and Secretary to Maſter General of the Ordnance.*
Ralph Bell, *Eſq*; *made one of the Cuſtomers of the Port of* Hull. *In his Place*
Thomas Pitt, *Sen. Eſq*; *late Governor of* Jamaica.
Aldborough.
William Jeſſop, *Eſq*; *a* Welſh *Judge, made one of the Commiſſioners and Receiver General of the Alienation Office, and rechoſe.*
James Stanhope, *Eſq*; *Principal Secretary of State. In his Place*
Sir William Monſon, *Bart.*
Beverly.
Sir Charles Hotham, *Bart.*
Sir Michael Wharton, *Bart.*
Northallerton.
Leonard Smelt, *Eſq*;
Cholmley Turner, *Eſq*;
Pontefract.
Hon. John Dawney, *Eſq*; *Son of the Lord Viſcount* Down. } *not duly elected.*
Robert Frank, *Eſq*; *In their Places* }
Sir William Lowther, *Bart.*
Hugh Bethel, *Eſq*;

Barons

After the Acceſſion of King GEORGE I.

Barons of the CINQUE PORTS.

Haſtings.

Archibald Hutcheſon, *Eſq;*

Henry Pelham, *Eſq; Son of* Henry Pelham, *Eſq; late Clerk of the Pells.*

Dover.

Matthew Aylmer, *Eſq; made one of the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, and rechoſe; then Maſter of* Greenwich *Hoſpital for Life, and Rear Admiral of* Great Britain, *and rechoſe; created Baron* Batrach *of* Ireland, *deceaſed. In his Place*

Hon. George Berkley, *Eſq; youngeſt Brother of the Earl of* Berkley.

Phillip Papillon, *Eſq; made Receiver of the Stamp Duties. In his Place*

Henry Furneſe, *Eſq;*

Sandwich.

Sir Thomas Daeth, *Bart.*

Sir Henry Oxenden, *Bart. deceaſed. In his Place*

Sir George Oxenden, *Bart.*

Hyeth.

Jacob des Bouverie, *Eſq;*

Sir Samuel Lennard, *Knt. and Bart. Groom of the Bedchamber to the Prince, and Lieutenant of the ſecond Troop of Guards.*

New Romney.

Sir Robert Furneſe, *Bart.*

Edward *Lord Viſcount* Sonds, *Heir Apparent to the Earl of* Rockingham, *Gentleman of the Bed-chamber to the Prince*

Rye.

Sir John Norris, *Knt. Admiral of the Blue, Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Czar of* Muſcovy, *made one of the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, and rechoſe.*

Philip Gibbon, *Eſq; one of the Commiſſioners of the Revenue in* Ireland.

Winchelſea.

Robert Briſtow, *Eſq; choſe one of the Commiſſioners for ſtating the Debts due to the Army, in the Room of* Thomas Smith, *Eſq; deceaſed, and ſince made Clerk Comptroller of his Majeſty's Houſhold, and rechoſe.*

George Bubb Doddington, *Eſq; his Majeſty's late Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at the Court of* Spain; *Lord Lieutenant of the County of* Somerſet.

Seaford.

George Naylor, *Eſq;*

Sir William Aſhburnham, *Bart. one of the Chamberlains of the* Exchequer, *made one of the Commiſſioners of Alienation. In his Place*

Hon. Henry Pelham, *Eſq; only Brother to the Duke of* Newcaſtle, *made his Majeſty's Treaſurer of the Chamber, and rechoſe; and then one of the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, and rechoſe.*

WALES.

Angleſea.

Owen Meyrick, *Eſq; made one of the Commiſſioners for ſtating the Debts due to the Army.*

Beaumaris

Hon. Henry Bertie, *Eſq; Brother to the Earl of* Abingdon.

Brecon.

Sir Edward Williams, *Kt. deceaſed. In his Place*

William-Gwyn Vaughan, *Eſq;*

Town of *Brecon.*

Roger Jones, *Eſq;*

Cardigan.

Lewis Price, *Eſq; expell'd for his Contempt of the Orders of the Houſe to attend his Service in Parliament, and ſince dec. In his Place choſe*

Owen Brigſtock, *Eſq;*

Town

Town of *Cardigan.*

Stephen Parry, *Esq;*

Carmarthen.

Charles Paulett, *Marquis of* Winchester, *Heir apparent of the Duke of* Bolton, *Lord-Lieutenant of the City of* Carmarthen *and* Glamorgan, *called up by Writ to the House of Peers. In his Place chose*

Sir Thomas Stepney, *Bart.*

Town of *Carmarthen.*

Richard Vaughan, *Esq; made a* Welch *Judge, and rechose*

Carnarvan.

William Griffith, *Esq; dec. In his Place chose*

John Griffith, *Esq;*

Town of Carnarvan.

Thomas Wynne, *Esq; Equerry to the Prince.*

Denbigh.

Sir Richard Middleton, *Bart. dec. In his Place chose*

Watkin Williams Wynn, *Esq;*

Town of Denbigh.

John Roberts, *Esq;*

Flint.

Sir Roger Mostyn, *Bart.*

Town of Flint.

Sir John Conway, *dec. In his Place*

Thomas Eaton, *Esq;*

Glamorgan.

Robert Jones, *Esq; dec. In his Place*

Sir Charles Keymis, *Bart.*

Town of Cardiffe.

Sir Edward Stradling, *Bart.*

Merioneth.

Richard Vaughan, *Esq;*

Montgomery.

Edw. Vaughan, *Esq; dec. In his Place*

Hon. Price Devereux, *Esq; Heir apparent to the Ld Viscount* Hereford

Town of Montgomery.

John Pugh, *Esq;*

Sir Arthur Owen, *Bart. Lord-Lieutenant of the said County.*

Town of Pembroke.

Thomas Ferrers, *Esq; Brigadier-General of his Majesty's Forces.*

Haverford-West.

John Laugharne, *Esq; dec. In his Place*

Sir George Barlow, *Bart. not duly elected. In his Place*

John Barlow, *Esq; dec. In his Place*

Sir John Philips, *Bart.*

Radnor.

Sir Richard Fowler, *Bart. made one of the Commissioners for stating the Debts due to the Army.*

Town of New Radnor.

Thomas Lewis, *Esq;* jun.

SCOTLAND.

Shire of Aberdeen.

Sir Alexander Cumming, *Bart.*

Shire of Air.

John Montgomery, *Esq;*

Shire of Argyle.

Sir James Campbell, *Bart.*

Shire of Bamff.

Alexander Abercromby, *Esq;*

Shire of Berwick.

George Bailie, *Esq; made Commissioner of the Treasury, and rechose.*

Shires of Bute *and* Cathness.

Sir Robert Gordon, *Kt. and Bart.*

Shire of Nairn *and* Cromartie

Alexander Urquhart, *Esq;*

Shire of Dumbarton.

Hon. John Campbell, sen. *Esq; Surveyor of the King's Works in* Scotland.

Shire of Dumfries.

Sir William Johnston, *Bart.*

Shire of Edinburgh.

John Baird, jun. *Esq; one of the Commissioners of the Equivalent.*

Shire of Elgin.

Alexander Grant, *Esq; Brigadier-General of his Majesty's Forces, and Lord-Lieutenant of the Shires of* Bamff *and* Inverness, *dec. In his Place chose*

James

James Brodie, *Esq*; *dec. In his Place*
Alexander Brodie *of* Brodie, *Esq*;
Shire of Fife.

Sir John Anstruther, *Bart. made Master of his Majesty's Works in* Scotland, *and rechose.*
Shire of Forfar.

John Carnegie, *Esq*; *expelled the House for having acted in the late Rebellion. In his Place*
James Scot, *Jun. Esq*;
Shire of Hadington.

John Cockburn *of* Ormistoun, *Esq*; *made one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty, and rechose.*
Shire of Inverness.

John Forbes, *Esq*;
Shire of Kincardin.

James Scott, *Esq*; *Major in the Foot Guards.*
Shires of Kinross *and* Clacmanan.

William Douglas, *Esq*;
Stewartry of Kirkcudbright.

Alexander Murray, *Esq*;
Shire of Lanerk.

James Lockhart, *Esq*; *one of the Commissioners of the Equivalent, deceased. In his Place*
Lord Archibald Hamilton.
Shire of Linlithgow.

Sir James Cunningham.
Shire of Orkney *and* Zetland.

James Moodie, jun. *Esq*;
Shire of Peebles.

Alexander Murray, *Esq*;
Shire of Perth.

Ld James Murray, *second Son to the Duke of* Athol.
Shire of Renfrew.

Sir Robert Pollock, *Bart. made Governor of* Fort-William, *and rechose.*
Shire of Ross.

Hon. Charles Ross, *Esq*; *Lieutenant-General of his Majesty's Forces.*
Shire of Roxburgh.

William Douglas, jun. *Esq*;
Shire of Selkirk.

John Pringle, *Esq*;
Shire of Stirling.

Mungo Haldane, *Esq*;
Shire of Sutherland.

Sir William Gordon, *Bart. one of the Commissioners for stating the Debts due to the Army.*
Shire of Wigtoun.

Hon. John Stuart, *Esq*; *Brigadier-General of his Majesty's Forces.*
City of Edinburgh.

**Sir* George Warrender, *Bart. dec. In his Place*
John Campbell, *Esq*;

Burghs of	Kirkwall, Week, Dornock, Dingwall, Taine	Robert Monro, *Esq*; *a Commissioner for the forfeited Estates.*
Burghs of	Fortrose, Inverness, Nairn, Forres	William Stewart, *Esq*; *Remembrancer of the* Exchequer *in* Scotland.
Burghs of	Elgin, Cullen, Bamff, Inverury, Kintore	*Hon.* James Murray, *Esq*; *not duly return'd In his Place* John Campbell, jun. *Esq*; *Groom of the Bed-chamber to the Prince, and Capt. in the Foot-Guards.*
Burghs of	Aberdeen, Inverbervy, Montrose, Aberbrothock, Brichene	James Erskine, *Esq*; *not duly elected. In his Place* John Middleton, *Esq*; *Lieut. Col. of Foot, and Dep. Gov. of* Tinmouth-Fort.

Burghs

Burghs of	Forfar, Perth, Dundee, Coupar, St. Andrews	Patrick Haldane, *Eſq; one of the Commiſſioners for the forfeited Eſtates.*
Burghs of	Crail, Kilrennie, Anſtruther Eaſter, Anſtruther Weſter, Pettenweem	Philip Anſtruther, *Eſq; Colonel in the Foot Guards.*
Burghs of	Dyſert, Kirkaldie, Kinghorne, Bruntiſland	*Hon.* William Ker, *Eſq; Brother of the Duke of* Roxburgh, *Colonel of Dragoons, and Groom of the Bed-chamber to the Prince.*
Burghs of	Inverkithen, Dunfermline, Queensferry, Culcroſs, Stirling	Henry Cunningham, *Eſq; Commiſſary General of the Muſters in* Scotland, *and a Commiſſioner for the forfeited Eſtates.*
Burghs of	Glaſgow, Renfrew, Rutherglen, Dumbarton	Thomas Smith, *Eſq; one of the Commiſſioners for ſtating the Debts due to the Army, deceaſed. In his Place* Daniel Campbel, *Eſq;*
Burghs of	Hadington, Dunbarr, North Berwick, Lauder, Jedburgh	*Sir* David Dalrymple, *Bart. late Lord Advocate for* Scotland, *and ſince made Auditor of his Majeſty's* Exchequer *there, and rechoſe, deceaſed. In his Place* *Sir* James Dalrymple, *Bart.*
Burghs of	Selkirk, Peebles, Linlithgow, Lanerk	*Hon. Colonel* George Douglas, *only Brother to the Earl of* Moreton.
Burghs of	Dumfries, Sanquhar, Annan, Lockmaben, Kirkcudbright	Alexander Ferguſon, *Eſq;*
Burghs of	Wigtoun, New Galloway, Stranraver, Whitehorn	Patrick Vans, *Eſq;*
Burghs of	Air, Irvin, Rotheſay, Campbletoun, Inverary	Charles Oliphant, *Eſq; M. D. deceaſed. In his Place* Thomas Kennedy, *Eſq;*

AN

EXACT LIST

OF THE

Knights and Commiſſioners of Shires, Citizens and Burgeſſes, of the ſecond Parliament of King GEORGE I. ſummoned to meet at *Weſtminſter* on the 10th of *May*, and then prorogued to the 9th of *October*, 1722.

Bedfordſhire.

HON. Charles Leigh, *Eſq*; *only Brother of the Lord* Leigh.

Sir Rowland Alſton, *Bart.*

Bedford.

William Farrer, *Eſq*;

George Huxley, *Eſq*; *made one of the Commiſſioners for victualling his Majeſty's Navy. In his Place*

John Thurloe Brace, *Eſq*;

Berkſhire.

Sir John Stonehouſe, *Bart.*

Robert Packer, *Eſq*;

New Windſor.

William O Brian, *Earl of* Inchiquin *of* Ireland, *Knt. of the* Bath.

Charles Beauclear, *Earl of* Burford, *Knt. of the* Bath, *became Duke of* St. Albans. *In his Place*

Lord Vere Beauclear, *third Brother of Duke of* St. Albans, *Commander of his Majeſty's Ship the* Lyme.

Reading.

Anthony Blagrave, *Eſq*;

Clement Kent, *Eſq*;

Wallingford.

George *Lord* Parker, *one of the Tellers of the* Exchequer *for Life*; *Heir Apparent of the Earl of* Macclesfield.

William Hucks, *Eſq*; *Brewer to his Majeſty's Houſhold.*

Abington.

Robert Hucks, *Eſq*; *Son of the aforeſaid* William Hucks, *Eſq*;

Buckinghamſhire.

Montague Garrard Drake, *Eſq*;

Sir Thomas Lee, *Bart.*

Buckingham.

Richard Greenville, *Eſq*; *deceaſed. In his Place*

Hon. John Fane, *Eſq*; *Brother to the Earl of* Weſtmorland, *Colonel of the firſt Troop of Grenadier Guards.*

Alexander Denton, *Eſq*; *one of his Majeſty's Council at Law, and Attorney General of the Dutchy of* Lancaſter; *made one of the Judges of the Court of* Common-Pleas, *In his Place*

William Heathcote, *Eſq*;

Chipping Wicomb.

Henry *Earl of* Shelburne *of* Ireland.

Hon. Charles Egerton, *Eſq*; *youngeſt*

Brother of the Duke of Bridgewater, *deceaſed. In his Place*

Charles Collyear, *Eſq; ſecond Son of the Earl of* Portmore, *whoſe Election being declared void, was thereupon rechoſe, and again not voted not duly elected. In his Place*

Harry Waller *of* Lincoln's-Inn, *Eſq;*

Ailesbury.

Richard Abel, *Eſq;*

John Guiſe, *Jun. Eſq; Heir Apparent of Sir* John Guiſe, *Bart.*

Agmondeſham.

Ralph *Lord Viſcount* Fermanuah *of* Ireland.

Montague Garrard Drake, *Eſq; made his Election for the County. In his Place*

Thomas Chapman, *Eſq;*

Wendover.

Richard Hampden, *Eſq;* P. C.

Sir Richard Steele, *Kt. Maſter of the Play-Houſe.*

Great-Marlow.

Sir John Guiſe, *Bart.*

Edmond Waller, *Eſq;*

Cambridgeſhire.

Sir John Hynde Cotton, *Bart.*

Edward *Lord* Harley, *became Earl of* Oxford *and* Mortimer. *In his Place*

Samuel Sheppard, *Eſq;*

Univerſity of *Cambridge.*

Hon. Dixie Windſor, *Eſq; Fellow of* Trinity-College, *and third Son of the late Earl of* Plymouth.

Hon. Thomas Willoughby, *Eſq; ſecond Son of the Lord* Middleton.

Town of *Cambridge.*

Thomas Bacon, *Eſq;*

Sir John Hynde Cotton, *Bart. made his Election for the County. In his Place*

Gilbert Affleck, *Eſq;*

Cheſhire.

Charles Cholmondeley, *Eſq;*

John Crew, *Eſq;*

Cheſter.

Sir Henry Bunbury, *Bart.*

Sir Richard Groſvenor, *Bart.*

Cornwall.

Sir William Carew, *Bart.*

Sir John St. Aubin, *Bart.*

Launceſton.

John Freind, *M. D. not duly elected. In his Place*

John Willes, *Eſq; one of his Majeſty's Council at Law, made ſecond Juſtice of Cheſter. In his Place*

Hon. Henry Vane, *Eſq; Son and Heir Apparent to the Lord* Barnard.

Alexander Pendarves, *Eſq; deceaſed. In his Place*

John Freind, *M. D. aforeſaid, rechoſe.*

Leſkard.

John Lanſdell, *Eſq;*

Edward Eliot, *Eſq; deceaſed. In his Place*

Thomas Clutterbuck, *Eſq; made Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of* Ireland.

Leſtwithtbiel.

William Cavendiſh, *Marquis of* Hartington, *made his Election for* Grampound. *In his Place*

Sir Orlando Bridgman, *Bart. Auditor General to the Prince.*

Philip *Lord* Stanhope, *one of the Gentlemen of the Bedchamber to the Prince, made Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard. In his Place*

Henry Parſons, *Eſq; Purveyor of* Chelſea *Hoſpital, made one of the Commiſſioners of the Victualling-Office. In his Place*

Sir William Stanhope, *Knt. of the* Bath, *only Brother of the Earl of* Cheſterfield.

Truroe.

Hon. Spencer Cowper, *Eſq; Uncle of the Earl* Cowper, *Chief Juſtice of* Cheſter, *and Attorney General to the Prince.*

Thomas Wyndham, *Eſq; Auditor of the South Part of the Dutchy of* Lancaſter.

Bodmin.

Iſaac Le Heup, *Eſq; his Majeſty's Envoy to the Diet of* Ratisbon.

Richard

Richard West, *Esq; made Lord Chancellor of* Ireland, *and rechose; deceased. In his Place*

John la Roche, *Esq;*

Helston.

Walter Cary, *Esq; one of the Clerks of his Majesty's Council in extraordinary, made Warden of his Majesty's Mint, and rechose.*

Sir Robert Raymond, *Knt. his Majesty's Attorney General, made one of of the Justices of the Court of* King's Bench. *In his Place*

Sir Clement Wearg, *Knt. his Majesty's Solicitor General, deceased. In his Place*

Exton Sayer, *L. L. D. Commissary of* Essex, *and Advocate in* Doctor's Commons.

Saltash.

Edward Hughes, *Esq; Judge Advocate General.*

Thomas Swanton, *Esq; Comptroller of the Navy.*

Camelford.

Henry Moore, *Earl of* Drogheda, *of* Ireland.

William Sloper, *Esq; made Deputy Cofferer of the Houshold.*

Portpigham, alias *Westlow.*

Sir John Trelawney, *Bart.*

George Delaval, *Esq; Rear Admiral of the Red, deceased. In his Place*

Edward Trelawney, *Esq; made one of the Commissioners of the Victualling Office, and rechose.*

Grampound.

William Cavendish, *Marquis of* Hartington, *Son and Heir Apparent of the Duke of* Devonshire, *made Captain of the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners.*

Humphrey Morrice, *Esq;*

Eastlow.

John Smith, *Esq; one of the Tellers of the* Exchequer, P. C. *deceased. In his Place*

George Cholmondeley, *Lord Viscount* Malpas, *and Knt. of the* Bath, *Son and Heir Apparent to the Earl of* Cholmondeley.

Horatio Walpole, *Esq; Auditor of the Trade and Plantation Accounts. In his Place*

William Lownds, *Esq; Secretary to the Treasury, deceased. In his Place*

Sir Henry Hoghton, *Bart.*

Penryn.

Sidney Meadows, *Esq; Son of Sir* Philip Meadows, *Bart. Knight Marshal.*

Edward Vernon, *Esq; Captain of one of his Majesty's Men of War; chose likewise in this Parliament for the Borough of* Dunwich.

Tregony.

John Merril, *Esq;*

James Cook, *Esq;*

Bossiney.

Henry Kelsall, *Esq; one of the Chief Clerks of the* Treasury.

Robert Corker, *Esq;*

St. Ives.

Henry Knollys, *Esq;*

Sir John Hobart, *Knt. of the* Bath, *and Bart. one of the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations; chose likewise for* Beer-Alston *in the County of* Devon.

Fowey.

John Goodall, *Esq; deceas'd. In his Place*

William Bromley, jun. *Esq;*

Nicholas Vincent, *Esq; deceased. In his Place*

Richard *Viscount* Fitzwilliams *of* Ireland.

St. Germans.

John Hamilton, *Lord* Binney, *Son and Heir Apparent of the Earl of* Hadingtoun.

Philip Cavendish, *Esq; Treasurer of* Greenwich *Hospital.*

St. Michael.

John Hedges, *Esq; his Majesty's En-*

voy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the King of Sardinia.
Charles Selwyn, *Eſq*; *Gentleman Uſher to the Princeſs.*

Newport.

Sir William Poole, *Bart. choſe likewiſe in this Parliament for the Borough of* Honiton. *In his Place*
John Morrice, *Eſq*;
Sir Nicholas Morrice, *Bart. deceaſed. In his Place*
Hon. Thomas Herbert, *Eſq*; *fourth Son of the Earl of* Pembroke.

St. Maws.

Sidney Godolphin, *Eſq*; *Auditor for the Principality of* Wales, *and Governor of the Iſland of* Scilly.
Samuel Travers, *Eſq*; *Auditor of the Prince, and Clerk of the King's Works*; *deceaſed. In his Place*
Samuel Molyneux, *Eſq*; *Secretary to the Prince.*

Kellington.

Thomas Lutwyche, *Eſq*;
Thomas Coppleſton, *Eſq*;

Cumberland.

Sir Chriſtopher Muſgrave, *Bart.*
Gilfrid Lawſon, *Eſq*;

Carliſle.

James Bateman, *Eſq*;
Henry Aglionby, *Eſq*;

Cockermouth.

Sir Wilfred Lawſon, *Bart.*
Sir Thomas Pengelly, *Knt. his Majeſty's Primier Serjeant at Law, made Lord Chief Baron of the Court of* Exchequer. *In his Place*
Hon. William Finch, *Eſq*; *ſecond Son of the Earl of* Nottingham.

Derbyſhire.

Sir John Curzon, *Bart.*
Godfrey Clark, *Eſq*;

Derby.

Lord James Cavendiſh, *only Brother to the Duke of* Devonſhire.
Thomas Bayley, *Eſq*;

Devonſhire.

Sir William Courtenay, *Bart.*
Sir Coppleſtone Warwick, Bamfield *Bart.*

Exeter.

John Rolle, *Eſq*;
Francis Drew, *Eſq*;

Totneſs.

Joſeph Banks, *Eſq*;
Sir Charles Wills, *Knt. of the* Bath, *Lieutenant General of the Ordnance, and Colonel of the firſt Regiment of Foot Guards*, P. C.

Plymouth.

Hon. William Chetwynd, *Eſq*; *youngeſt Brother of the Lord Viſcount* Chetwynd, *one of the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty.*
Hon. Pattee Byng, *Eſq*; *Son and Heir Apparent of the Lord Viſcount* Torrington, *made Treaſurer of the Navy, and rechoſe.*

Okehampton.

Robert Pitt, *Eſq*; *one of the Clerks of the Greencloth to the Prince.*
John Crowley, *Eſq*;

Barnſtable.

Thomas Whetham, *Eſq*; *Lieutenant General of his Majeſty's Forces, and Colonel of a Regiment of Foot.*
Sir Hugh Ackland, *Bart.*

Plymton.

Richard Edgcomb, *Eſq*; *made one of the Vice Treaſurers and Pay Maſters General of* Ireland, *and rechoſe.*
George Treby, *Eſq*; *made one of the Tellers of the* Exchequer, *and rechoſe.*

Honiton.

Sir William Yonge, *Knt. of the* Bath, *made one of the Commiſſioners of the* Treaſury, *and rechoſe.*
Sir William Pole, *Bart.*

Taviſtock.

Sir John Cope, *Bart.*
Sir Francis Henry Drake, *Bart.*

Aſhburton.

Roger Tuckfield, *Eſq;*
Richard Reynell, *Eſq;*

Cliſton, Dartmouth, Hardneſs.

George Treby, *Eſq; Col. in the Guards.*
Tho. Martin, *Eſq; made one of the* Welch *Judges, and rechoſe.*

Beer-Alſton.

Hon. St. John Broderick, *Eſq; Son and Heir apparent to the Lord Viſcount* Middleton, *of the Kingdom of* Ireland.
Sir John Hobart, *Kt. of the* Bath, *and Bart. made his Election for the Borough of* St. Ives *in the County of* Cornwal. *In his Place*
Sir Robert Rich, *Bart. Brigadier. General of his Majeſty's Forces, Col. of a Regiment of Dragoons, and Groom of the Bed-chamber to the Prince.*

Tiverton.

Arthur Arſcot, *Eſq;*
Thomas Bere, *Eſq; one of the Commiſſioners of the Victualling-Office, &c. In his Place*
George Dean, *Eſq;*

Dorſetſhire.

George Chaffin, *Eſq;*
Thomas Strangeways, *Eſq; deceaſed. In his Place*
George Pitt, jun. *Eſq;*

Poole.

Thomas Ridge, *Eſq;*
George Trenchard, *Eſq;*

Dorcheſter.

Joſeph Damer, *Eſq;*
Edmund Moreton Pleydell, *Eſq; not duly elected. In his Place*
William Chapple, *Serjeant at Law.*

Lyme-Regis.

Henry Holt Henley, *Eſq; Recorder of the ſaid Borough*
John Burridge, jun. *Eſq;*

Weymouth.

John Ward, *Eſq; Expelled the Houſe for Forgery. In his Place*
John Willes, *Eſq; ſecond Juſtice of* Cheſter.
Thomas Pearce, *Eſq; made one of the Commiſſioners of the Navy. In his Place*
Edward Tucker, *Eſq;*

Melcomb-Regis.

Sir James Thornhill, *Kt. His Majeſty's Serjeant Painter.*
William Betts, *Eſq;*

Bridport.

Sir Dewey Bulkeley, *Knt.*
Peter Walter, *Eſq; Clerk of the Peace for the County of* Middleſex.

Shaftsbury.

Sir Edward Desbouverie, *Bart.*
Edward Nicholas, *Eſq; deceaſed. In his Place*
Stephen Fox, *Eſq;*

Wareham.

Sir Edward Ernle, *Bart.*
Joſeph Gaſcoigne, *Eſq;*

Corfe-Caſtle.

Dennis Bond, *Eſq Letter-Carrier to the Government.*
John Bankes, *Eſq;*

Durham.

Sir John Eden, *Bart.*
John Hedworth, *Eſq;*

Durham.

Thomas Conyers, *Eſq;*
Charles Talbot, *Eſq; made his Majeſty's Sollicitor-General, and rechoſe.*

Eſſex.

William Harvey, *Eſq;*
Robert Honywood, *Eſq;*

Colcheſter.

Sir Thomas Webſter, *Bart.*
Matthew Martin, *Eſq;*

Malden.

Thomas Bramſton, *Eſq;*
John Comyns, *Serjeant at Law, made a Baron of the* Exchequer. *In his Place*
Henry Parſons, *Eſq; one of the Commiſſioners of the Victualling-Office.*

Harwich.

Sir Philip Parker, *Bart.*
Humphrey Parſons, *Eſq; Alderman of* London.

Gloucesterſhire.

Henry Berkeley, *Eſq; ſecond Brother of the Earl of* Berkeley, *Col. of the ſecond Troop of Grenadier Guards, and Gentleman of the Horſe to his Majeſty.*

Kinard de la Bere, *Eſq;*

Glouceſter.

Charles Hyett, *Eſq;*

John Snell, *Eſq; deceaſed. In his Place*

John How *of* Stowell, *Eſq;*

Cirenceſter.

Thomas Maiſters, *Eſq;*

Benjamin Bathurſt, *Eſq; youngeſt Brother to the Lord* Bathurſt.

Tewkſbury.

Thomas Gage, *Lord Viſcount* Gage *of* Ireland.

George Read, *Eſq; Col. in the Foot Guards, and Brother of Sir* Thomas Read, *Bart.*

Herefordſhire.

Sir Edward Goodere *Knt. and Bart.*

Velters Cornwal, *Eſq;*

Hereford.

Herbert Rudhal Weſtfaling, *Eſq;*

William Mayo, *Eſq; deceaſed. In his Place*

James Walwyn, *Eſq;*

Leominſter.

Sir Archer Croft, *Bart.*

Sir George Caſwall, *Knt.*

Weobly.

Nicholas Philpot, *Eſq;*

John Birch, *Serjeant at Law.*

Hertfordſhire.

Sir Thomas Saunders Sebright, *Bart.*

Ralph Freeman, *Eſq;*

St. Albans.

William Gore, *Eſq;*

William Clayton, *Eſq; made Auditor General to the Prince.*

Hertford.

Charles Cæſar, *Eſq; not duly elected. In his Place*

Sir Thomas Clarke, *Kt.*

Edward Harriſon, *Eſq; made one of the Poſt-Maſters General. In his Plac*

George Harriſon, *Eſq; Brother to the ſaid* Edward.

Huntingdonſhire.

John Bigg, *of* Eaton, *Eſq;*

Edward Montague, *Lord Viſcount* Hinchinbroke, *only Son of the Earl of* Sandwich, *Col. of Foot, Lord Lieutenant of this County, deceaſed. In his Place*

John Trobey, *Eſq;*

Huntingdon.

Edward Wortley Montague, *Eſq;*

Roger Handaſyde, *Eſq; Col. of a Regiment of Foot.*

Kent.

Sir Edward Knatchbull, *Bart.*

Sir Thomas Twiſden, *Bart.*

Canterbury.

Sir Thomas Hales, *Bart.*

Samuel Milles, *Eſq;*

Rocheſter.

Sir John Jennings, *Kt. Admiral of the* White, *one of the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, and Governor of* Greenwich *Hoſpital.*

Sir Thomas Palmer, *Bart. deceaſed. In his Place*

Sir Thomas Colby, *Bart. one of the Commiſſioners of the Navy.*

Maidſtone.

Hon. John Finch, *Eſq; ſecond Brother of the Earl of* Aylesford.

Sir Thomas Colepepper, *Bart. dec. In his Place*

Sir Barnham Ryder, *Kt.*

Queenborough.

John Cope, *Eſq; Col. of the Guards.*

James Littleton, *Vice-Admiral of the White, dec. In his Place*

David *Lord* Forbes, *Son and Heir apparent of the Earl of* Granard *of* Ireland.

Lancaſhire.

Sir John Bland, *Bart.*

Richard Shuttleworth, *Eſq;*

Preſton.

Thomas Hesketh, *Eſq;*

Daniel

Daniel Pulteney, *Eſq; choſe likewiſe in this Parliament for the Borough of* Heydon *in the County of* York, *made Clerk of the Council in* Ireland, *and rechoſe.*

Lancaſter.

Sir Thomas Lowther, *Bart.*

William Heyſham, *Eſq; dec. In his Place*

Charles Towers, *Eſq;*

Newton.

Sir Francis Leiceſter, *Bart.*

William Shippen, *Eſq;*

Wigan.

Sir Roger Bradſhaigh, *Bart.*

Hon. James Barry, *Earl of* Barrymore, *of* Ireland.

Clithero.

Thomas Liſter, *Eſq;*

Nathaniel Curzon, *Eſq; youngeſt Brother of Sir* John Curzon, *Bart.*

Leverpool.

William Cleveland, *Eſq; dec. In his Place*

Thomas Bootle, *Eſq;*

Sir Thomas Johnſon, *Kt. made Collector of the Cuſtoms in* Virginia. *In his Place*

Hon. Langham Booth, *Eſq; ſecond Brother to the Earl of* Warrington, *one of the Grooms of the Bedchamber to the Prince. In his Place*

Thomas Brereton, *Eſq;*

Leiceſterſhire.

Lord William Manners, *only Brother of the Duke of* Rutland, *one of the the Lords of Bed-chamber to the Prince.*

Edmund Morris *of* Loddington, *Eſq;*

Leiceſter.

Sir George Beaumont, *Bart.*

Sir Lawrence Carter, *Kt. one of his Majeſty's Serjeants at Law, and Sollicitor General to the Prince, made one of the Barons of the Court of* Exchequer. *In his Place*

Thomas Boothby Scrimſhire, *Eſq;*

Lincolnſhire.

Henry Heron, *Eſq;*

Sir William Maſſingbeard, *Bart. dec. In his Place*

Rober Vyner, *Eſq;*

Lincoln.

Sir John Tirwhit, *Bart.*

Sir Jn Monſon, *Bart. Kt. of the* Bath.

Boſton.

Richard Ellis, *Eſq; only Son of Sir* William Ellis, *Bart.*

Henry Lacey, *Eſq;*

Great Grimsby.

Charles Pelham, *Eſq;*

Benjamin Collier, *Eſq;*

Stamford.

Hon. Charles Bertie, *Eſq;*

Hon. Brownlow Cecil, *Eſq, became Earl of* Exeter. *In his Place*

William Noel, *Eſq; Deputy Recorder of the ſaid Borough, Brother to Sir* Cloberly Noel, *Bart.*

Grantham.

John Brownlow, *Lord Viſcount* Tyrconnel *of* Ireland, *Kt. of* Bath, *and Bart.*

Francis Fiſher, *Eſq;*

Middleſex.

Hon. James Bertie, *Eſq; ſecond Brother to the Earl of* Abingdon.

Sir John Auſten, *Bart.*

Weſtminſter.

Archibald Hutcheſon, *Eſq; choſe in this Parliament for the Port of* Haſtings.

John Cotton, *Eſq; Deputy Steward of the ſaid City. Their Election declar'd void. In their Places*

George *Lord* Carpenter, *of* Ireland, *Governor of* Minorca *and* Port-Mahon, *Col. of a Regiment Dragoons.*

Hon. Charles Montagu, *Eſq;*

London.

Francis Child, *Eſq; Alderman of the ſaid City.*

Richard

Richard Lockwood, *Eſq;*
John Barnard, *Eſq;*
Peter Godfrey, *Eſq; dec. In his Place*
Sir Richard Hopkins, *Kt. Alderman of the ſaid City.*

Monmouthſhire.

Sir William Morgan, *Kt. of the* Bath, *choſe likewiſe for the Town of* Brecon, *Lord Lieutenant of the ſaid C. and of* Brecon.
John Hanbury, *Eſq;*
Monmouth.
Edward Keymeys, *Eſq;*

Norfolk.

Sir Thomas Coke, *Kt. of the* Bath.
Thomas de Grey, *Eſq;*
Norwich.
Waller Bacon, *Eſq; Commiſſary of the Stores of War in the Iſland of* Minorca.
Robert Brittiffe, *Eſq;*
Lyn-Regis.
Sir Robert Walpole *Kt. of the Garter, Chancellor of the* Exchequer, *and firſt Commiſſioner of the* Treaſury; *made principal Secretary of State, during the Regency, and rechoſe.* P. C.
Sir Charles Turner, *Kt. one of the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury.*
Great Yarmouth.
Hotatio Walpole, *Eſq; Auditor of the Trade and Plantation Accounts, and Secretary to the Treaſury, made Ambaſſador extraordinary to the Court of* France.
Hon. Charles Townſhend, *Eſq; Son and Heir apparent to the Lord Viſcount* Townſhend, *call'd up by a Writ to the Houſe of Peers. In his Place*
Hon. William Townſhend, *Eſq; his Brother, third Son of the aforeſaid Lord Viſcount* Townſhend.
Thetford.
Sir Edmund Bacon, *Bart.*
Robert Jacombe, *Eſq; Deputy Paymaſter of the Forces.*
Caſtleriſing.
Charles Churchill, *Eſq; Brigadier General of his Majeſty's Forces, Groom of the Bedchamber to the Prince, Govetnor of the Town of* Plymouth, *and Colonel of a Regiment of Dragoons.*
Hon. William Fielding, *Eſq; Uncle to the Earl of* Denbigh, *one of the Clerks Comptrollers of his Majeſty's Houſhold, dec. In his Place*
Algernoon Coote, *Earl of* Montrath *of* Ireland.

Northamptonſhire.

Sir Juſtinian Iſham, *Bart.*
Thomas Cartwright, *Eſq;*
Peterborough.
John Fitz-Williams, *Earl* Fitz-Williams *of* Ireland.
Hon. Sidney Wortly Montague, *Eſq; Uncle to the Earl of* Sandwich.
Northampton.
Hon. Edward Montague, *Eſq; only Brother to the Earl of* Halliſax, *Colonel of a Regiment of Foot.*
William Wilmer, *Eſq;*
Brackley.
William Egerton, *Eſq; ſecond Brother to the Duke of* Bridgwater, *Colonel of a Regiment of Foot.*
Sir Paul Methuen, *Kt. of the* Bath, *made Treaſurer of his Majeſty's Houſhold, and rechoſe.* P. C.
Higham Ferrers.
Hon. Thomas Wentworth, *Eſq; ſecond Brother of the Earl of* Rockingham, *dec. In his Place*
Hon. John Finch, *Eſq; third Son of the Earl of* Nottingham, *Solicitor General of the Prince, and one of his Majeſty's Council learned in the Law.*

Northumberland.

Sir William Middleton, *Bart.*
Algernoon *Earl of* Hertford, *only Son to the Duke of* Somerſet, *Go-*

vernour

vernor of Tinmouth-Fort, *Captain of the second Troop of Guards, and Lord Lieutenant of the C. of* Suſſex; *call'd up to the House of* Peers, *and now Lord* Piercy. *In his Place*

William Wrightſon, *Eſq*; *not duly elected. In his Place*

Ralph Jeniſon, *Eſq*;

Newcaſtle upon Tyne.

Sir William Blacket, *Bart.*

William Carr, *Eſq*;

Morpeth.

Henry Howard, *Lord Viſcount* Morpeth, *Son and Heir apparent to the Earl of* Carliſle.

George Carpenter, *Eſq*; *only Son of the Lord* Carpenter *of* Ireland, *Lieutenant Col. in his Majeſty's Service.*

Berwick upon Tweed.

Grey Neville, *Eſq*; *deceaſed. In his Place*

Hon. William Kerr, *Eſq*; *Brother to the Duke of* Roxburgh, *Col. of Dragoons, and Groom of the Bedchamber to the Prince.*

John Barrington Shute, *Lord Viſcount* Barrington *of* Ireland, *expell'd the House for Promoting the fraudulent Undertaking, called* The Harburgh Lotttery. *In his Place*

Henry Grey, *Eſq*; *Brother of* Grey Neville, *Eſq*;

Nottinghamſhire.

Hon. Emanuel ScroopHow, *Lord Viſcount* How *of* Ireland.

Sir Robert Sutton, *Kt. of the* Bath. P. C.

Nottingham.

John Plumtree, *Eſq*; *Treaſurer and Pay-Maſter of his Majeſty's Ordnance.*

George Gregory, *Eſq*; *Storekeeper to the Ordnance.*

Eaſt-Retford.

Patrick Chaworth, *Eſq*;

Thomas White, *Eſq*; *Clerk of the Ordnance.*

Newark upon Trent.

Hon. Richard Sutton, *Eſq*; *Brigadier General of his Majeſty's Armies, made one of the Clerks of the Green-cloth, and rechoſe; Envoy extraordinary to the King of* Pruſſia.

James Pelham, *Eſq*; *Secretary to the Duke of* Grafton *as Lord Chamberlain.*

Oxon.

Sir Robert Bankes Jenkinſon, *Bart.*

Henry Perrot, *Eſq*;

Univerſity of *Oxford.*

William Bromley, *Eſq*;

George Clarke, *L. L. D.*

City of Oxon.

Thomas Rowney, *Jun. Eſq*;

Sir John Walter, *Bart. dec. In his Place*

Francis Knollys *Eſq*;

New-Woodſtock.

Sam. Trotman *Eſq*;

Sir Thomas Wheat, *Bart.*

Banbury.

Monoux Cope, *Eſq*; *Son of Sir* John Cope, *Bart.*

Rutlandſhire.

Daniel *Lord* Finch, *Son and Heir apparent to the Earl of* Nottingham, *Gentleman of the Bedchamber to the Prince. Made Comptroller of his Majeſty's Houſhold, and rechoſe.* P. C.

Sir Thomas Mackworth, *Bart.*

Salop *County.*

John Kynaſton, *Eſq*;

Rober Lloyd, *Eſq*;

Salop.

Corbett Kynaſton, *Eſq*; *Son of the aforeſaid.*

John Kynaſton. *Eſq*;

Richard Lyſter, *Eſq*; *not duly elected. In their Places*

Orlando Bridgman, *Eſq*; *Son of Sir* John Bridgman, *Bart.*

Sir Richard Corbett, *Bart.*

Bridgnorth.

John Weaver, *Eſq;*
William Whitmore, *Eſq; dec. In his Place*
St. John Charlton, *Eſq;*

Ludlow.

Abel Ketelby, *Eſq; Recorder of the ſaid Borough.*
Acton Baldwin, *Eſq; deceaſed. In his Place*
Richard Herbert, *Eſq; ſecond Brother to* Henry Arthur Herbert, *Eſq;*

Great Wenlock.

Sir Humphrey Briggs *Bart.*
Samuel Edwards *Eſq; one of the Deputy Tellers of the* Exchequer.

Biſhop's-Caſtle.

William-Peere Williams, *Eſq; Barriſter at Law.*
Bowater Vernon, *Eſq; not duly elected. In his Place*
Charles Maſon, *Eſq;*

Somerſetſhire.

Sir William Wyndham, *Bart.*
Edward Phelipps, *Eſq;*

Briſtol.

Joſeph Erle, *Eſq;*
Sir Abraham Elton, *Bart. Alderman of the City.*

Bath.

John Codrington, *Eſq;*
George Wade, *Eſq; Lieutenant General of his Majeſty's Forces, and Colonel of a Regiment of Horſe.*

Wells.

Thomas Edwards, *Jun. Eſq;*
Francis Gwynn, *Eſq; choſe laſt and likewiſe in this Parl. for the Borough of* Chriſt-Church, *in the C. of* Southampton.

Taunton.

John Smith, *Eſq;*
John Trenchard, *Eſq; dec. In his Place*
Abraham Elton, *Eſq; eldeſt Son of Sir* Abraham Elton, *Bart.*

Bridgwater.

Thomas Palmer, *Eſq;*
George Doddington, *Eſq; choſe likewiſe for the Town and Port of* Winchelſea, *Lord Lieutenant of the C. of* Somerſet, *made one of the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, and rechoſe.*

Minehead.

Thomas Hales, *Eſq; one of the Clerks of the Green-cloth to the Prince, Son of Sir* Thomas Hales, *Bart.*
Hon. Robert Manſel, *Eſq; Son and Heir apparent to the Lord* Manſel, *dec. In his Place*
Francis Whitworth *Eſq; Brother to the late Lord* Whitworth.

Ivelcheſter.

Daniel Moore, *Eſq;*
William Boroughs, *Eſq; made Auditor of the Accounts of the Duties on Leather. In his Place*
Thomas Paget, *Eſq; one of the Grooms of the Bedchamber to the Prince.*

Milbourn Port.

George Speak, *Eſq;*
Michael Harvey, *Eſq;*

Southampton.

Lord Harry Powlet, *Brother of the Duke of* Bolton.
Lord Naſſau Powlet, *Kt. of the* Bath, *youngeſt Brother to the Duke of* Bolton, *made Auditor of the* Exchequer *in the Kingdom of* Ireland, *and rechoſe.*

Wincheſter.

Lord William Powlet, *Uncle to the Duke of* Bolton; *one of the Tellers of the* Exchequer.
George Bridges *Eſq;*

Southampton.

Thomas Lewis, *Eſq;*
Thomas Miſſing, *Eſq; Proveditor General for the Garriſons of* Gibraltar *and* Port Mahon.

Portſmouth.

Sir John Norris, *Kt. Admiral of the* Blue, *one of the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty,*

Admiralty, and Deputy-Governor of Dover-Caſtle.

Sir Charles Wager, *Kt. Vice-Admiral of the* Red, *and one of the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty.*

Yarmouth.

Anthony Morgan, *Eſq*; *Deputy Governor of the* Iſle *of* Wight.

Thomas Stanwix, *Eſq*; *Brigadier-General of his Majeſty's Forces, Governor of* Kingſton upon Hull, *and Colonel of a Regiment of Foot*; *dec. In his Place*

Maurice Morgan, *Eſq*; *Son of the aforeſaid* Anthony Morgan, *Eſq*; *Colonel in the third Regiment of Guards.*

Peterſfield.

Norton Powlet *Eſq*;

Edmond Miller, *Serjeant at Law, made one of the Barons of the Court of* Exchequer *in* Scotland. *In his Place*

Joſeph Taylor *Eſq*; *one of the Clerks of the Hoſpital of* Bridewell; *not duly elected. In his Place*

Edmond Miller, *Eſq*; *aforeſaid.*

Newport.

Charles *Earl of* March, *Son and Heir apparent of the Duke of* Richmond; *made his Election for the City of* Chicheſter. *In his Place*

Charles Cadogan, *Eſq*; *only Brother of the Earl* Cadogan, *Col. of* a *Regiment of Foot*; *became Lord* Cadogan. *In his Place*

Sir William Willis, *Bart.*

Charles Whitworth, *Baron of* Gallway *in* Ireland, *his Majeſty's Ambaſſador and Plenipotentary for the Congreſs at* Cambray, *dec. In his Place*

George Huxley, *Eſq*; *one of the Commiſſioners of the Victualling-Office.*

Stockbridge.

John Chetwynd *Eſq*; *ſecond Brother of the Lord Viſcount* Chetwynd; *one of the Commiſſioners of Trade and Plantations.*

Col. Martin Bladen, *Comptroller of the* Mint, *and one of the Commiſſioners of Trade and Plantations.*

New-town.

Charles Worſley, *Eſq*;

William Stephens, *Eſq*;

Chriſt-Church.

Francis Gwyn *Eſq*; *made his Election for the City of* Wells. *In his Place*

Edward Prideaux Gwyn, *Eſq*; *Son of the aforeſaid* Francis Gwyn, *Eſq*;

Sir Peter Mews, *Kt. Chancellor of the Dioceſe of* Winchester, *dec. In his Place*

Jacob Banks, *Eſq*;

Lymington.

Paul Burrard, *Eſq*;

Lord Harry Powlet, *Brother of the Duke of* Bolton; *made his Election for this County. In his Place*

Sir Gilbert Heathcote, *Kt. Alderman of* London.

Whitchurch.

John Conduit *Eſq*; *made Maſter and Worker of his Majeſty's* Mint, *and rechoſe.*

Thomas Vernon, *Eſq*; *dec. In his Place*

Thomas Farrington, *Eſq*;

Andover.

William Guidott, *Eſq*;

Hon. James Brudenel, *Eſq*; *Maſter of the Jewel-Office, only Brother to the Earl of* Cardigan.

Staffordſhire.

Thomas *Lord* Paget, *Son and Heir apparent of the Earl of* Uxbridge, *one of the Lords of the Bed-chamber to the Prince.*

Hon. William Leveſon Gower, *Eſq*; *ſecond Brother to the Lord* Gower.

Lichfield.

Richard Plummer, *Eſq*; *one of the Commiſſioners of Trade and Plantations.*

Walter Chetwynd *Eſq*; *Pay-maſter of divers annual Bounties and Penſions.*

Stafford.

Thomas Foley, *Eſq; one of the Auditors of the Impreſt.*

John Dolphin, *Eſq; deceaſed. In his Place*

Francis Elde, *Eſq; one of the Maſters in Chancery, not duly elected. In his Place*

Walter Chetwynd, *Ld Viſcount* Chetwynd *of* Ireland, *Chief Ranger of of St.* James's *Park.*

Newcaſtle under Line.

Hon. Thomas Leveſon Gower, *Eſq; third Brother of the Lord* Gower.

Sir Bryan Broughton, *Bart. Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, dec. In his Place*

Sir Walter Wagſtaffe Bagot, *Bart.*

Tamworth.

Hon. Francis Willoughby, *Eſq; Son and Heir apparent to the Lord* Middleton.

Samuel Bracebridge, *Eſq; not duly elected. In his Place*

Richard Swinſen, *Eſq; one of the Gentlemen of his Majeſty's Privy-Chamber, dec. In his Place*

Hon. George Compton, *Eſq; Brother of the Earl of* Northampton.

Suffolk.

Sir Thomas Hanmer, *Bart.*

Sir Robert Davers, *Bart. dec. In his Place*

Sir William Barker, *Bart.*

Ipſwich.

Sir William Thompſon, *Kt. Recorder of* London, *made Curſitor Baron of the* Exchequer, *and rechoſe.*

Francis Negus *Eſq; Commiſſioner for executing the Office of Maſter of the Horſe.*

Dunwich.

Sir George Downing, *Bart.*

Edward Vernon, *Eſq; made his Election for the Borough of* Penryn *in the C. of* Cornwal. *In his Place*

Sir John Ward, *Kt. and Alderman, dec. In his Place*

John Sambroke, *Eſq;*

Orford.

Dudley North, *Eſq;*

William Acton, *Eſq;*

Aldborough.

Samuel Lowe, *Eſq; Comptroller of the Ordnance in* Ireland.

Walter Plomer, *Eſq;*

Sudbury.

Col. William Wyndham, *made Lieutenant Governor of the Royal Hoſpital of* Chelſea, *and rechoſe*

John Knight, *Eſq;*

Eye.

Edward Hopkins, *Eſq; one of the Commiſſioners of the Revenue in* Ireland; *made Maſter of the Revels in the ſaid Kingdom, and rechoſe.*

Right Hon. Sir Spencer Compton, *Kt. of the* Bath, *made his Election for the ſaid County. In his Place*

Hon. James Cornwallis, *Eſq; ſecond Brother of the Lord* Cornwallis.

St. Edmundsbury.

Sir Jermyn Davers, *Bart.*

James Reynolds *Eſq; Serjeant at Law, and Recorder of the ſaid Borough; made one of the Juſtices of the Court of the* King's Bench. *In his Place*

John *Lord* Hervey, *Son and Heir apparent of the Earl of* Briſtol.

Surrey.

John Walter *Eſq;*

Sir Nicholas Carew, *Bart. dec. In his Place*

Thomas Scawen, *Eſq;*

Southwark.

Edmond Halſey, *Eſq;*

George Meggot, *Eſq; deceaſed. In his Place*

John Ladd, *Eſq;*

Blechingly.

William Clayton, *Eſq;*

George Evelin, *Eſq; one of the Clerks of the Green-cloth to the Prince of* Wales, *dec. In his Place*

Henry Arthur Herbert, *Eſq;*

Ryegate.

Ryegate.

Sir Joſeph Jekyll, *Kt. Maſter of the Rolls, and ſince made firſt Commiſſioner of the Great Seal of* Great-Britain, *and rechoſe.* P. C.

James Cocks, *Eſq;*

Guildford.

Thomas Broderick *Eſq; Brother of the Lord Viſcount* Middleton.

Arthur Onſlow, *Eſq; Recorder of the ſaid Borough.*

Gatton.

William Newland, *Eſq;*

Paul Docminique, *Eſq; one of the Commiſſioners of Trade and Plantations.*

Haſlemere.

James Oglethorp, *Eſq;*

Peter Burrel, *Eſq;*

Suſſex.

Right Hon. Sir Spencer Compton, *Kt. of the* Bath, *Unkle of the Earl of* Northampton, SPEAKER, *Treaſurer to the Prince, Pay-maſter General of his Majeſty's Forces, and of* Chelſea-College.

Henry Pelham, *Eſq; only Brother to the Duke of* Newcaſtle, *one of the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury; made Secretary at War, and rechoſe.* P. C.

Chicheſter.

Sir Thomas Miller, *Bart.*

Charles Lenos, *Earl of* March, *became Duke of* Richmond, *choſe likewiſe for* Newport, *in the C. of* Southampton. *In his Place*

Lord William Beauclair, *firſt Brother to the Duke of* St. Albans.

Horſham.

Charles Eversfield *Eſq;*

Hon. Henry Ingram, *Eſq; Brother of the Lord Viſcount* Irwin.

Midhurſt.

Alan Broderick, *Viſcount* Middleton *of* Ireland.

Bulſtrode Peachy Knight, *Eſq;*

Lewes.

Thomas Pelham, *Eſq; one of the Commiſſioners of Trade and Plantations.*

Henry Pelham, *Eſq; deceaſed. In his Place*

Sir Nicholas Pelham, *Kt.*

New-Shoreham

Sir Nathaniel Gould, *Kt. Governour of the* Muſcovy *Company.*

Francis Chamberlain, *Eſq;*

Bramber.

Sir Richard Gough, *Kt.*

William Charles Vanhulſe, *Eſq; Clerk Comptroller of the King's Robes, dec. In his Place*

David Polhill, *Eſq;*

Steyning.

John Gumley *Eſq; made Commiſſary-General of the Forces, and rechoſe.*

Major General John Pepper, *Coll. of Dragoons, and Ranger of the Foreſt of* Epping. *dec. In his Place*

John Bridges, *Marquis of* Caernarvon, *Son and Heir apparent to the Duke of* Chandos, *decceaſed. In his Place*

Hon. William Stanhope, *Eſq; late Ambaſſador in* Spain, *made Vice-Chamberlain of His Majeſty's Houſhold.*

Eaſt-Grinſted.

Rt. Hon. Sir Spencer Compton, *Kt. of the* Bath, *made his Election for this C. In his Place*

Richard Boyle, *Lord Viſcount* Shannon *of* Ireland, *Lieutenant-General of his Majeſty's Forces, and Col. of Horſe.*

John Conyers, *Eſq; one of his Majeſty's Council at Law, dec. In his Place*

Edward Conyers, *Eſq;*

Arundel.

Hon. Sir Thomas Lumley-Saunderſon, *Kt. of the* Bath, *ſecond Brother of the Earl of* Scarborough.

Joſeph Micklethwait, *Eſq; created Viſcount* Micklethwait *of* Ireland.

Warwickſhire.

William Peytoe, *Eſq;*

Hon. Robert Digby, *Eſq; ſecond Son*

to

to William *Lord* Digby *of* Ireland, *deceaſed. In his Place*

Edward Digby, *Eſq; third Son of the Lord* Digby.

Coventry.

Sir Adolphus Oughton, *Knt. and Bart. Lieutenant Colonel of the ſecond Regiment of Foot Guards.*

John Neale, *Eſq; Comptroller of the Houſhold to the young Princeſſes. Their Elections declared void, and afterwards rechoſe.*

Warwick.

Hon. Doddington Greville, *Eſq; third Son of* Fulk, *late Lord* Brook.

Sir William Colemore, jun. *Eſq; deceaſed. In his Place*

Sir William Keyt, *Bart.*

Weſtmorland.

Hon. James Grahme, *Brother to* Richard *late Lord Viſcount* Preſton.

Hon. Anthony Lowther, *Eſq; only Brother to the Lord Viſcount* Lonſdale; *made one of the Commiſſioners of the Revenue in* Ireland, *and rechoſe.*

Apulby.

Hon. Sackville Tufton, *Eſq; Nephew to the Earl of* Thanet.

Sir Richard Sandford, *Bart. late Warden of the Mint, deceaſed. In his Place*

James Lowther, *Eſq; choſe laſt Parliament for the County of* Cumberland.

Wiltſhire.

Sir Richard How, *Bart.*

Robert Hyde, *Eſq; deceaſed. In his Place*

Richard Goddard, *Eſq;*

New Sarum.

Anthony Duncomb, *Eſq;*

Francis Kenton, *Eſq;*

Wilton.

Hon. Robert Sawyer Herbert, *Eſq; ſecond Son of the Earl of* Pembroke, *made one of the Grooms of his Majeſty's Bed chamber, and rechoſe.*

Thomas Pit, *Earl of* Londonderry *in the Kingdom of* Ireland, *Colonel of a Regiment of Foot, made Governor of the* Leeward Iſlands.

Downeton.

Hon. John Verney, *Eſq; youngeſt Son to the Lord* Willoughby, *made one of the* Welſh *Judges, and rechoſe.*

Giles Eyre, *Eſq;*

Hindon.

Henry Ludlow Coker, *Eſq;*

Robert Gray, *Eſq;*

Heytesbury.

Edward Aſh, *Eſq; one of the Comiſſioners of Trade and Plantations.*

Pierce a Court, *Eſq; deceaſed. In his Place*

Lord Charles Cavendiſh, *third Son of the Duke of* Devonſhire.

Weſtbury.

Francis Anneſley, *Eſq;*

Hon. James Bertie, *Eſq; Brother to the Earl of* Abingdon, *made his Election for the County of* Middleſex. *In his Place*

George Evans, *Baron of* Carbery *in* Ireland.

Calne.

Benjamin Haskins Styles, *Eſq; made his Election for* Devizes. *In his Place*

Edmund Heath, *Eſq;*

George Ducket, *Eſq; made one of the Commiſſioners of the Exciſe. In his Place*

Hon. Matthew Ducie Morton, *Eſq; Son and Heir Apparent of the Lord* Ducie de Morton.

Devizes.

Sir Joſeph Eyles, *Knt. Brother of Sir* John Eyes, *Bart.*

Benjamin Haskins Styles, *Eſq; choſe likewiſe for the Borough of* Calne.

Chippenham.

Sir John Eyles, *Bart. Alderman of the City of* London, *and Sub-Governor of the* South-Sea *Company.*

Edward Rolt, *Eſq; deceaſed. In his Place*

Thomas Boucher, *Eſq;*

Malmeſ-

Malmsbury.

Sir John Ruſhout *Bart.*

Trevor Hill, *Lord Viſcount* Hillſborough *of* Ireland, *not duly elected. In his Place*

Giles Erle, *Eſq; Groom of the Bedchamber to the Prince, and one of the Clerks Comptrollers of his Majeſty's Houſhold.*

John Fermot, *Eſq; deceaſed. In his Place*

Charles Stewart, *Eſq; late Envoy to the Emperor of* Morocco.

Cricklade.

Sir Thomas Read, *Bart. Gentleman of his Majeſty's Privy-Chamber, and one of the Clerks of the Green-cloth to the Prince.*

Thomas Gore, *Eſq; Lord of the Manor of the ſaid Borough.*

Great-Bedwin.

Hon. Robert Bruce, *Eſq; ſecond Brother of the Earl of* Ailesbury.

Charles Longueville, *Eſq;*

Ludgerſhal.

Borlace Richmond Webb, *Eſq; Son of the late Lieutenant Gen.* Webb

Lieut. Gen. John Richmond Webb, *late Governor of the Iſle of* Wight, *deceaſed. In his Place*

Anthony Corniſh, *Eſq;*

Old-Sarum.

Thomas Pitt, *Eſq; deceas'd. In his Place*

George Pitt, *Eſq;*

Robert Pitt, *Eſq; eldeſt Son of* Thomas Pitt, *Eſq; made his Election for* Okehampton. *In his Place*

George Moreton Pitt, *Eſq; made Regiſter of the Revenue of the Exciſe. In his Place*

John Pitt, *Eſq; Col. in the Guards, third Brother of* Robert Pitt, *Eſq;*

Wotton-Baſſet.

Hon. Robert Murray, *Eſq; Brother of the Earl of* Dunmore, *Col. of a Regiment of Foot.*

William Chetwynd, *Eſq;*

Marlborough.

Gabriel Roberts, *Eſq;*

Algernoon, *Earl of* Hertford, *only Son to the Duke of* Somerſet, *made his Election for the County of* Northumberland. *In his Place*

Thomas Gibſon, *Eſq; Money Scrivener of* London.

Worceſterſhire.

Sir John Packington, *Bart.*

Sir Thomas Littleton, *Bart.*

Worceſter.

Thomas Wylde, *Eſq; one of the Commiſſioners of the Revenue in* Ireland.

Samuel Sandys, *Eſq;*

Droitwich.

Richard Foley, *Eſq; Brother to the Lord* Foley, *one of the Prothonotaries of* Common-Pleas.

Edward Winnington Jeffereys, *Eſq; one of the* Welch *Judges, dec. In his Place*

Thomas Winnington, *Eſq;*

Eveſham.

John Rudge, *Eſq; Deputy-Governor of the* South-Sea *Company.*

Sir John Ruſhout, *Bart.*

Bewdley.

Crew Offley, *Eſq; one of the Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber.*

Yorkſhire.

Henry Dawney, *Lord-Viſcount* Down *of* Ireland, *and Bart.*

Sir Arthur Kay, *Bart. deceaſed. In his Place*

Cholmondeley Turner, *Eſq;*

York.

Sir William Milner, *Bart.*

Edward Thompſon, *Eſq; made one of the Commiſſioners of the Revenue in* Ireland, *and rechoſe.*

Kingſton upon Hull.

Nathaniel Rogers, *Eſq;*

Sir William St. Quintin, *Bart. Vice-Treaſurer, Receiver-General, and Paymaſter-General of* Ireland, *deceaſed. In his Place*

George

George Crowle, *Esq*;
Knaresborough.

Hon. Richard Arundel, *Esq*; *Uncle to the Lord* Arundel, *of* Trerice, *made Surveyor-General of his Majesty's Works, and rechose.*

Sir Henry Slingsby, *Bart.*
Scarborough.

Sir William Strickland, *Bart. made one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, and rechose.*

John Hungerford, *Esq*; *Cursitor of* Yorkshire *and* Westmorland.
Rippon.

John Scrope, *Esq*; *one of the Barons of the Court of* Exchequer *in* Scotland, *made Coadjutor-Secretary to the Treasury with* Horatio Walpole, *Esq*; *and rechose.*

William Aislabie, *Esq*; *Son of* John Aislabie, *Esq*;
Richmond.

John York, *Esq*;

Hon. Sir Conyers D'Arcy, *Knight of the* Bath, *Uncle to the Right Hon. the Earl of* Holderness, *Master of his Majesty's Household, and Lord Lieutenant of the* North-Riding *of this County.*
Heydon.

William Pulteney, *Esq*; *Lord Lieutenant of the* East Riding *of this County, made Cofferer to his Majesty's Household, and rechose*; *and now Ranger of the Forest of* Epping. P.C.

Daniel Pulteney, *Esq*; *made his Election for the Borough of* Preston. *In his Place*

Harry Pulteney, *Esq*; *Colonel in the Guards, Brother of the aforesaid* William Pulteney, *Esq*;
Borough Bridge.

James Tyrrel, *Esq*;

Hon. Sir Conyers D'Arcy, *Kt. of the* Bath, *made his Election for the Borough of* Richmond, *in this County. In his Place*

Joseph Danvers, *Esq*;
Malton.

Sir Thomas Watson Wentworth, *Knt. of the* Bath.

Sir William Strickland, *Bart. his Majesty's Commissary General of the Musters, deceased. In his Place*

Hon. Henry Finch, *Esq*; *fourth Son of the Earl of* Nottingham.
Thirsk.

Sir Thomas Frankland, *Bart. made one of the Commissioners of the Revenue in* Ireland, *and rechose.*

Sir William St. Quintin, *Bart.*
Aldborough.

William Jessop, *Esq*; *one of the chief Justices of* Wales, *one of the Commissioners, and Receiver-General of the Alienation Office.*

Charles Stanhope, *Esq*; *his Majesty's Treasurer of the Chamber.*
Beverly.

Sir Michael Newton, *Knt. of the* Bath, *Son of Sir* John Newton, *Bart.*

Sir Charles Hotham, *Bart. Colonel of the Royal Regiment of Dragoons, deceased. In his Place*

Sir Charles Hotham, *Bart. Son and Heir of the aforesaid Sir* Charles.
Northallerton.

Leonard Smelt, *Esq*; *Clerk of the Deliveries of the Ordnance, and Secretary to the Master General thereof.*

Henry Peirse, *Esq*;
Pontefract.

Sir William Lowther, *Bart.*

John Lowther, *Esq*;

Barons of the CINQUE PORTS.

Hastings.

Archibald Hutcheson, *Esq*;

Sir William Ashburnham, *Bart. one of the Chamberlains of the* Exchequer, *and one of the Commissioners of Alienation.*
Dover.

Dover.

George Berkeley, *Esq*; *youngest Brother of the Earl of* Berkeley, *made Master of the Hospital of St.* Katherine's *near the* Tower, *and rechose.*

Henry Furnese, *Esq*;

Sandwich.

Sir George Oxenden, *Bart. made one of the Lords of the Admiralty, and rechose.*

Josiah Burchett, *Esq*; *Secretary to the Commissioners of the* Admiralty.

Hythe.

Sir Samuel Lennard, *Knt. and Bart. Groom of the Bedchamber to the Prince, and Lieutenant-Colonel of the second Troop of Guards.*

Hercules Baker, *Esq*;

New-Romney.

Sir Robert Furnese, *Bart.*

David Papillon, *Esq*;

Rye.

Henry, *Lord* Aylmer, *Baron* Batrach, *of* Ireland.

Philip Gibbon, *Esq*; *made Surveyor-General of his Majesty's Land Revenue, and rechose.*

Winchelsea.

Robert Bristow, *Esq*; *Clerk-Comptroller of his Majesty's Household.*

George Doddington, *Esq*; *made his Election for* Bridgwater. *In his Place*

Hon. Thomas Townshend, *Esq*; *second Son of the Lord Viscount* Townshend.

Seaford.

Sir William Gage, *Knt. of the* Bath, *and Bart.*

Sir Philip Yorke, *Knt. his Majesty's Solicitor-General*; *made since his Majesty's Attorney-General, and rechose.*

WALES.

Anglesea.

Richard Bulkeley, *Lord Viscount* Cashel, *of* Ireland, *deceased. In his Place*

Hugh Williams, *Esq*;

Beaumares.

Hon. Henry Bertie, *Esq*; *third Brother to the Earl of* Abingdon.

Brecon.

William-Gwynn Vaughan, *Esq*;

Brecon.

Sir William Morgan, *Knt. of the* Bath, *made his Election for the said County. In his Place*

Thomas Morgan, *Esq*; *only Brother of the aforesaid Sir* William Morgan.

Cardigan.

Francis Cornwallis, *Esq*;

Cardigan.

Stephen Parry, *Esq*; *deceased. In his Place*

Thomas Powell, *Esq*;

Carmarthen.

Edward Rice, *Esq*; *not duly elected. In his Place*

Sir Nicholas Williams, *Bart.*

Carmarthen.

Richard Vaughan, *Esq*; *one of the* Welsh *Judges, deceased. In his Place*

James Phillips, *Esq*;

Carnarvon.

John Griffith, *Esq*;

Carnarvon.

Thomas Wynne, *Esq*; *Clerk of the Greencloth to the Prince.*

Denbigh.

Watkin-Williams Wynne, *Esq*;

Denbigh.

Robert Myddelton, *Esq*;

Flint.

Sir Roger Mostyn, *Bart.*

Flint.

Thomas Eyton, *Esq*;

Glamorgan.

Sir Charles Keymis, *Bart.*

Cardiffe.

Edward Stradling, *Eſq*; *Son of Sir* Edward Stradling, *Bart. deceaſed. In his Place*

Hon. Buſſy Manſell, *Eſq*; *Uncle of the Lord* Manſell.

Merioneth.

Richard Vaughan *of* Korſygedol, *in this County, Eſq*;

Montgomery.

Hon. Price Devereux, *Eſq*; *Son and Heir Apparent of the Lord Viſcount* Hereford.

Montgomery.

John Pugh, *of* Mathafarne, *Eſq*;

Pembroke.

Sir Arthur Owen, *Bart. Lord Lieutenant of the ſaid County.*

Pembroke.

Thomas Ferrers, *Eſq*; *Brigadier General of his Majeſty's Forces, and Colonel of a Regiment of Foot, deceaſed. In his Place*

William Owen, *Eſq*; *eldeſt Son of the aforeſaid Sir* Arthur Owen, *Bart.*

Haverford-Weſt.

Francis Edwards, *Eſq*; *deceaſed. In his Place*

Eraſmus Philipps, *Son and Heir of Sir* John Philipps, *Bart.*

Radnor.

Sir Humphrey Howarth, *Knt.*

New Radnor.

Thomas Lewis, *Eſq*;

SCOTLAND.

Shire of Aberdeen.

Archibald Grant, *Eſq*;

Shire of Air.

John Montgomery, *Eſq*;

Shire of Argyle.

Sir James Campbell, *Bart.*

Shire of Bamff.

Alexander Abercromby, *Eſq*;

Shire of Berwick.

George Bailie, *Eſq*;

Shire of Bute *and* Cathneſs.

Colonel Patrick Campbell.

Shires of Nairn *and* Cromartie.

John Forbes, *Eſq*;

Shire of Dumbarton.

Mungo Haldane, *Eſq*; *not duly elected. In his Place*

Hon. John Campbell, *Eſq*; *Surveyor of the King's Works in* Scotland.

Shire of Dumfries.

Charles Areskine, *Eſq*; *made Solicitor General for* Scotland, *and rechoſe.*

Shire of Edinburgh.

Robert Dundaſs, *Eſq*;

Shire of Elgin.

Alexander Brodie, *Eſq*;

Shire of Fife.

Sir John Anſtruther, *Bart. Maſter of his Majeſty's Works in* Scotland.

Shire of Forfar.

James Scot, *Jun. Eſq*;

Shire of Hadington.

John Cockburn, *Eſq*; *one of the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, eldeſt Son of the Lord Juſtice Clerk of* Scotland.

Shire of Inverneſs.

James Grant, *Eſq*;

Shire of Kincardin.

James Scott, *Eſq*; *Lieutenant Colonel of the third Regiment of Foot Guards.*

Shires of Kingroſs *and* Clacmanan.

Sir John Shaw, *Bart.*

Stewartry of Kirkcudbright.

Alexander Murray, *Eſq*;

Shire of Lanerk

Lord Archibald Hamilton, *Uncle to the Duke of* Hamilton.

Shire of Linlithgow.

George Dundaſs, *Eſq*;

Shire of Orkney *and* Zetland.

George Douglaſs, *Eſq*; *only Brother of the Earl of* Moreton.

Shire

Shire of Peebles.

Hon. John Douglaſs, *Eſq*;

Shire of Perth.

Lord James Murray, *now Duke of* Athol. *In his Place*

David Grahme, *Eſq*; *deceaſed. In his Place*

Mungo Haldane, *Eſq*; *choſe before in this Parliament for the Shire of* Dumbarton.

Shire of Renfrew.

Major Thomas Cockrane.

Shire of Roſs.

Alexander Urquhart, *Eſq*;

Shire of Roxburgh.

Sir Gilbert Elliot, *Bart. made one of the Lords of the Seſſion. In his Room*

Sir Gilbert Elliot, *Bart.*

Shire of Selkirk.

John Pringle, *Eſq*;

Shire of Stirling.

John Grahme, jún. *Eſq*;

Shire of Sutherland.

Sir William Gordon, *Bart.*

Shire of Wigtoun.

Hon. John Stuart, *Eſq*; *Brigadier-General of his Majeſty's Forces, and Brother of the Earl of* Galloway.

City of Edinburgh.

John Campbell, *Eſq*;

Burghs of	Kirkwall, Week, Dornock, Dingwall, Taine	Robert Monro, *Eſq*;
Burghs of	Fortroſe, Inverneſs, Nairn, Fotreſs	Alexander Gordon, *Eſq*; *not duly returned. In his Place* Duncan Forbes, *Eſq*; *made Lord Advocate of the College of Juſtice, and rechoſe.*
Burghs of	Elgin, Cullen, Bamff, Inverury, Kintore	*Hon.* William Fraſer, *Eſq*; *Brother to the Lord* Salton, *not duly elected. In his Place* John Campbell, jun. *Eſq*; *Groom of the Bed-chamber to the Prince, and Capt. in the Foot-Guards.*
Burghs of	Aberdeen, Inverbervy, Montroſe, Aberbrothock, Brichene	*Hon.* William Kerr, *Eſq*; *Brother to the Duke of* Roxburgh, *Colonel of Dragoons, and Groom of the Bed-chamber to the Prince, choſe laſt Parliament for the Burghs of* Dyſert, *&c. not duly returned. In his Place* John Middleton, *Eſq*; *Col of Foot, and Deputy Governor of* Tinmouth Fort.
Burghs of	Forfar, Perth, Dundee, Coupar, St. Andrews	*Hon.* Charles Leſlie, *Eſq*; *one of the Brothers of the E. of* Rothes, *his Indenture taken off the File.* D.R. William Erskine, *Eſq*;
Burghs of	Craill, Kilrennie, Anſtruther Eaſter, Anſtruther Weſter, Pettenweem	David Scot, *Eſq*; *his Indenture taken off the File.* Philip Anſtruther *of* Ardie, *Eſq*; *Colonel in the Foot Guards.* D.R.

Burghs of	Dyſert Kirkaldie Kinghorne Burntiſland	*Hon.* Thomas Leſlie, *Eſq; Brother of the Earl of* Rothes, *not duly returned. In his Place* *Hon.* James Sinclair, *Eſq; ſecond Son of the Lord* Sinclair, *Major in the third Regiment of Foot Guards.*
Burghs of	Inverkithen Dunfermline Queensferry Culcroſs Stirling	Henry Cunningham, jun, *Eſq; Commiſſary General of the Muſters in* Scotland.
Burghs of	Glaſgow Renfrew Rutherglen Dumbarton	Daniel Campbel, *Eſq;*
Burghs of	Hadington Dunbarr North Berwick Lauder Jedburgh	*Sir* James Dalrymple, *Bart. Auditor General in* Scotland.
Burghs of	Selkirk Peebles Linlithgow Lanerk	Daniel Weir, *Eſq; deceaſed. In his Place* ———Murray, *Eſq;*
Burghs of	Dumfries Sanquhar Annan Lockmaben Kirkcudbright	William Douglaſs, *Eſq;*
Burghs of	Wigtoun New Galloway Stranraver Whitehorn	*Hon.* William Dalrymple, *Eſq; Colonel of the Foot Guards, ſecond Brother to the Earl of* Stair.
Burghs of	Air Irvin Rotheſay Campbletoun Inverary	William Stuart, *Eſq;*

AN EXACT LIST OF THE Knights and Commiſſioners of Shires, Citizens and Burgeſſes, of the firſt Parliament of King GEORGE II. ſummoned to meet at *Weſtminſter* on the 23d of *January*, 1727-8.

Bedfordſhire.

SIR Rowland Alſton, *Bart.*

Hon. Pattee Byng, *Eſq*; *ſucceeded his Father as Viſcount* Torrington. *In his Place*

Charles Leigh, *Eſq*;

Bedford.

James Metcalf, *Eſq*; *deceaſed. In his Place*

Sir Jer. Van Sambroke, *Bart.*

John Orlebar, *Eſq*;

Berkſhire.

Sir John Stonehouſe, *Bart.*

Robert Packer, *Eſq*; *deceaſed. In his Place*

Winchcomb Howard Packer, *Eſq*; *Son to* Robert Packer, *Eſq*;

New Windſor.

Lord Vere Beauclerc, *Lord Viſcount* Malpas, *Knt. of the* Bath; *Son to the Earl of* Cholmondeley, *a Commiſſioner of the Admiralty, and Governor of* Cheſter.

Reading.

Richard Thompſon, *Eſq*;

Richard Pottinger, *Eſb*; *Recorder of this Borough.*

Wallingford.

William Hucks, *Eſq*;

George Lewen, *Eſq*;

Abington.

Robert Hucks, *Eſq*; *Son to* William Hucks, *Eſq*; *and a Truſtee for the Colony of* Georgia.

Buckinghamſhire.

Richard Hampden, *Eſq*; *deceaſed. In his Place*

Sir William Stanhope, *Knt. of the* Bath, *Brother to the Earl of* Cheſterfield.

Sir Thomas Lee, *Bart.*

Buckingham.

Col. John Fane, *Brother to the Earl of* Weſtmoreland, *and Col. of the firſt Troop of Grenadier-Guards, made Lord* Catherlogh.

George Chamberlayne, *Eſq*;

Chipping Wicomb.

William Lee, *Eſq*; Latin *Secretary, one of the King's Council at Law, and Attorney-General to the Prince, made a Judge. In his Place*

Sir Charles Vernon, *Knt.*

Harry Waller, *Eſq*;

Aylesbury.

Edward Rudge, *Eſq*; *Son of* John Rudge, *Eſq*; *Deputy-Governor of the* South-Sea *Company.*

Thomas Ingoldesby, *Eſq*;

Agmon-

Agmondesham.

Montagu Garrard Drake, *Esq*; *deceased. In his Place*

Marmaduke Allington, *Esq*;

Thomas Lutwyche, *Esq*; *one of his Majesty's Council at Law.*

Wendover.

Lord Viscount Limerick, *of* Ireland, *one of the Trustees for the County of* Georgia.

Ric. Hampden, *Esq*; *dec. In his Place*

John Hamilton, *Esq*;

Great-Marlow.

Edmund Wallis, *Esq*;

John Clavering, *Esq*; *made Groom of the Bed-chamber to his Majesty. In his Place*

George Robinson, *Esq*; *expelled the House on account of the Charitable Corporation,* [*See Vol.* II. *p.* 241.] *In his Place*

Sir Thomas Hoby, *Bart.*

Cambridgeshire.

Henry Bromley, *Esq*; *Lord-Lieutenant of the County*

Samuel Sheppeard, *Esq*;

University of *Cambridge.*

Hon. Edward Finch, *Esq*; *Brother to the Earl of* Winchelsea, *and Plenipotentiary to the King of* Poland

Hon. Thomas Townshend, *Esq*; *second Son to the Lord Viscount* Townshend, *Under Secretary to his Lp, and a Teller of the Exchequer.*

Cambridge.

Sir John Hynde Cotton, *Bart.*

Thomas Sclater Bacon, *Esq*;

Cheshire.

Charles Cholmondeley, *Esq*;

Sir Robert Salisbury Cotton, *Bart. Lord Lieutenant and* Custos-Rotulorum *of the County.*

Chester.

Sir Richard Grosvenor, *Bart. deceased. In his Place.*

Sir Robert Grosvenor, *Bart.*

Sir Thomas Grosvenor, *Bart. dec. In his Place*

Sir Charles Bunbury, *Bart.*

Cornwall.

Sir William Carew, *Bart.*

Sir John St. Aubin, *Bart.*

Launceston.

Hon. John King, *Esq*; *Son to Lord-Chancellor* King, *Out-ranger, and Verdurer of* Windsor-Forest.

Arthur Tremayne, *Esq*;

Leskard.

Thomas Clutterbuck, *Esq*;

John Cope, *Esq*; *Lieutenant-Colonel of the second Troop of Grenadier-Guards.*

Lestwithiel.

Sir Orlando Bridgman, *Bart. deceased. In his Place*

Sir Edward Knatchbull, *Bart. dec. In his Place*

Anthony Cracherode, *Esq*; *Sollicitor to the Treasury*

Dorrel Trelawney, *Esq*; *deceased. In his Place*

Edward Walpole, *Esq*; *Joint-Secretary of the Treasury, and Collector Inwards of the Customs, and second Son of Sir* Robert Walpole.

Truroe.

Hon. Hugh Boscawen, *Esq*; *Son to the Lord Viscount* Falmouth.

Sidney Meadows, *Esq*; *Son to Sir* Philip, *Knt. Marshal.*

Bodmin.

John Laroche, *Esq*; *a Trustee for the Colony of* Georgia.

Hon. Robert Booth, *Esq*; *Nephew and Heir to the Earl of* Warrington, *dec. In his Place*

Sir John Heathcote, *Bart. Son to the late to Sir* Gilbert Heathcote.

Helston.

John Evelyn, *Esq*; *Son to Sir* John Evelyn, *Commissioner of the Customs, and Groom of the Bedchamber to the Prince.*

John Harris, *Esq*;

Saltash.

Lord Viscount Glenorchy, *Kt. of the* Bath, *Son to the Earl of* Broadalbin,

bin, *Envoy to the Court of* Denmark, *Master of the Horse to the three Eldest Princesses.*

Edward Hughes *Esq*; *deceased. In his Place*

Thomas Corbett *Esq*; *Under Secretary to the Admiralty.*

Camelford.

Thomas Hales, *Esq*; *Clerk of the Green-cloth, and Son of Sir* Thomas Hales, *Bart.*

John Pitt, *Esq*; *Colonel in the first Regiment of Guards* Aid-de-Camp, *to his Majesty, and Vice-Admiral of the Summer Islands, and Brother to the Earl of* Londonderry.

Westlow.

Edward Trelawney *Esq*; *made Commissioner of the Customs. In his Place*

Thomas Walker *Esq*; *Surveyor of the Crown Revenue.*

John Willes *Esq*; *Chief Justice of Chester.*

Grampound.

Philip Hawkins *Esq*;

Humphry Morice *Esq*; *deceased Governor of the Bank. In his Place*

Isaac Leheup, *Esq*;

Eastlow.

Sir John Trelawney, *Bart.*

Charles Longueville *Esq*; *Auditor to the Queen.*

Penryn.

Edvard Vernon, *Esq*;

Sir Cecil Bishop, *Bart.*

Tregony.

John Goddard *Esq*; *Commissioner to settle the Merchants Losses by the* Spaniards.

Thomas Smith, *Esq*; *Vice Chamberlain to the Queen's Houshold. In his Place*

Hon. Matthew Ducie Morton, *Esq*; *Son to the Lord* Ducie Morton.

Bossiney.

John Hedges, *Esq*; *Treasurer to the Prince, and Envoy to the Court of* Turin.

Hon. James Cholmondeley, *Esq*; *Major of the Horse Guards; and Governor of* Chester *Castle.*

St. Ives.

Henry Knollys, *Esq*;

Sir Robert Rich, *Bart. Colonel of Dragoons, Brigadier General of the Forces, and Groom of the Bedchamber to the King.*

Fowey.

Lord Viscount Fitz-Williams.

Jonathan Rashleigh, *Esq*;

St. Germaine.

Sir Gilbert Heathcote, *Knt. deceased, Director of the* Bank, *created a Baronet. In his Place*

Dudley Rider, *Esq*; *Sollicitor General.*

Sidney Godolphin, *Esq*; *dec. Auditor of the Principality of* Wales, *Governor of the Isle of* Scilly, *and of of* Greenwich *Hospital. In his Place*

Richard Elliot, *Esq*; *Auditor General to the Prince*

St. Michael.

Henry Kelsal, *Esq*;

Thomas Farrington, *Esq*; *Receiver of the Revenue of* Wales.

Newport.

Hon. Thomas Herbert, *Esq*; *Son to the Earl of* Pembroke, *and Captain in the Guards.*

Sir William Morrice, *Bart.*

St. Maws.

Hon. Henry Vane, *Esq*; *Son to the Lord* Barnard.

John Knight, *Esq*; *deceased. In his Place*

William East, *Esq*;

Kellington.

Thomas Copleston, *Esq*;

Sir John Coryton, *Bart.*

Cumberland.

Gilfrid Lawson, *Esq*;

James Lowther, *Esq*;

Carlisle.

Charles Howard, *Esq*; *youngest Son to the Earl of* Carlisle, *Lieutenant Governor of the City and Castle, and*

and Col. in the second Regiment of Foot-Guards.

John Hylton, *Esq*;
Cockermouth.

Sir Wilfrid Lawson, *Bart.*

Hon. William Finch, *Esq*;
Derbyshire.

Sir Nathaniel Curzon, *Bart.*

Godfrey Clarke, *Esq*;
Derby.

Lord James Cavendish.

Charles Stanhope, *Esq*; *Brother to the Earl of* Chesterfield.
Devonshire.

Sir William Courteney, *Bart.*

Henry Rolle, *Esq*;
Exeter.

Francis Drew, *Esq*;

Samuel Molyneux, *Esq*; *one of the Lords of the Admiralty, dec. In his Place*

John Belfield, *Serjeant at Law.*
Totness.

Sir Charles Willes, *Kt. of the* Bath.

Exton Sayer, *L. L. D. dec. Advocate of the Admiralty, Surveyor of the King's Land Revenue, and Chancellor of* Durham. *In his Place*

Sir Henry Gough, *Bart.*
Plymouth.

Hon. Robert Byng, *Esq*; *Brother to Lord* Torrington, *first Joint-Receiver-General of the Admiralty, and then a Commissioner of the Navy.*

Arthur Stert, *Esq*; *a Commissioner to settle the Merchants Losses by the* Spaniards.
Okehampton.

William Northmore, *Esq*;

Thomas Pitt, *Esq*; *Grandson of Governor* Pitt, *of* Fort St. George.
Barnstable.

Richard Coffin, *Esq*;

Hon. Theophilus Forteſcue, *Esq*; *Brother to Lord* Clinton.
Plympton.

Richard Edgecumbe, *Esq*; Custos-Rotulorum *of* Cornwall.

John Fuller, *Esq*;
Honiton.

Sir William Yonge, *Bart. Knt. of the* Bath.

James Shepheard, *Esq*; *dec. Recorder of this Borough. In his Place*

Sir William Pole, *Bart.*
Tavistock.

Sir Fran. Hen. Drake, *Bart.*

Sir Humphrey Monnoux, *Bart.*
Ashburton.

Richard Reynell, *Esq*;

Roger Tuckfield, *Esq*;
Dartmouth.

George Treby, *Esq*; *Master of the Houshold.*

Walter Carey, *Esq*; *one of the Lords of Trade-extraordinary, Clerk of the Council, and Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of* Ireland.
Boralston.

Sir Archer Croft, *Bart. a Commissioner of Trade.*

Henry *Lord* Walden, *by the Death of his Father, became Earl of* Suffolk. *In his Place*

William Morden, *Esq*;
Tiverton.

Arthur Arscott, *Esq*;

James Nelthorp, *Esq*;
Dorsetshire.

George Chaffin, *Esq*;

Edm. Morton Pleydell, *Esq*;
Poole.

George Trenchard, *Esq*;

Dennis Bond, *Esq*; *Recorder of this Town, and of* Wareham, *and Carrier of his Majesty's Post Letters, expelled the House on account of the fraudulent Sale of the late Earl of* Derwentwater's *Estate.* [*See Vol.* II *p.* 238.] *In his Place*

Thomas Wyndham, *Esq*;
Dorchester.

Sir William Chaple, *Knt.*

John Brown, *Esq*; *Barrister at Law, and Standing Council to the* East-India *Company.*

Lyme-

Lyme-Regis.

Hon. Holt Henley, *Eſq; Clerk of the Pipe.*

Henry Drax, *Eſq;*

Weymouth.

Edward Tucker, *Eſq;*

Thomas Pearſe, *Eſq;*

Melcomb-Regis.

Sir James Thornhill, *Kt.*

George Doddington, *Eſq;*

Bridport.

William Bowles, *Eſq; Merchant of* London, *and Director of the* South-Sea *Company.*

John Jewkes, *Eſq;*

Shaftesbury.

Sir Edward Desbouverie, *Bart.*

Stephen Fox, *Eſq;*

Wareham.

Nathaniel Gould *Eſq;*

Thomas Towers, *Eſq;*

Corfe Caſtle.

John Banks, *Eſq;*

John Bond, *Eſq; Brother to* Dennis Bond, *Eſq;*

County of Durham.

John Hedworth, *Eſq;*

George Bowes, *Eſq;*

Durham.

Charles Talbot, *Eſq; Created a Peer, and made Lord Chancellor. In his Place*

Henry Lambton, *Eſq;*

Robert Shaſtoe, *Eſq; dec. In his Place*

John Shaftoe, *Eſq;*

Eſſex.

Lord Viſcount Caſtlemain, *Created Earl of* Tilney *of* Ireland.

Sir Robert Abdy, *Bart.*

Colcheſter.

Stamp Brooksbank, *Eſq;*

Samuel Tuffnel, *Eſq; a Commiſſioner for Settling Commerce.*

Malden.

Thomas Bramſton, *Eſq;*

Henry Parſons, *Eſq; Surveyor of* Chelſea College.

Harwich.

Sir Philip Parker Long, *Bart.*

John *Viſcount* Percival, *and Earl of* Egmond *in* Ireland, *Recorder of this Borough.*

Glocesterſhire.

Hon. Henry Berkeley *Eſq;*

Sir John Dutton *Bart.*

Glouceſter.

Col. John Selwyn, *Equery to the Queen.*

Benjamin Bathurſt *Eſq; Youngeſt Brother to the Lord* Bathurſt.

Cirenceſter.

Thomas Maiſters *Eſq;*

Peter Bathurſt, *Eſq; firſt Brother to the Lord* Bathurſt.

Tewkesbury.

Thomas *Lord Viſcount* Gage.

George Reade *Eſq; Colonel of the Foot Guards, and Brother to Sir* Thomas Reade *Bart.*

Herefordſhire.

Velters Cornewal *Eſq;*

Edward Harley *Eſq; eldeſt Son of Auditor* Harley, *Auditor of the Impreſt.*

Hereford.

Marquis of Caernarvan, *Son to* James *Duke of* Chandos.

Thomas Geers Winford, *Eſq;*

Leominſter.

Sir George Caſwall, *Kt.*

Lord Viſcount Bateman *of* Ireland.

Weobly.

John Birch, *Eſq; expelled the Houſe on account of the fraudulent Sale of the late Earl of* Derwenwater's *Eſtate.* [*See* Vol. II. p. 238.] *In his Place*

Uvedale Price, *Eſq; Son of Judge* Price.

James Cornewall *Eſq; Captain of a Man of War.*

Hertfordſhire.

Sir Thomas Saunders Sebright, *Bart.*

Charles Cæſar, *Eſq;*

St. Albans.

Lord Viſcount Grimſtone.
Thomas Gape, *Eſq*; *deceaſed. In his Place*
John Merril, *Eſq*;

Hertford.

Sir Thomas Clerke, *Eſq*;
George Harriſon, *Eſq*;

Huntingdonſhire.

Robert Piggot, *Eſq*;
John Bigg, *Eſq*;

Huntingdon.

Edward Wortley Montagu, *Eſq*;
Roger Handaſide, *Eſq*; *Col. of a Regiment of Foot, and Governor of* Fort-Philip *in* Minorca.

Kent.

Sir Roger Meredith, *Bart. Recorder of* Maidſtone.
Sir Robert Furneſe, *Bart. deceaſed. In his Place*
Sir Edward Dering, *Bart.*

Canterbury.

Sir Thomas Hales, *Bart.*
Sir William Hardres, *Bart.*

Rocheſter.

Sir John Jennings, *Knt. Houſe-keeper to the Royal Palace at* Greenwich.
David Polhil, *Eſq*; *Keeper of the Records in the Tower.*

Maidſtone.

Hon. John Finch, *Eſq*;
Thomas Hope, *Eſq*;

Queenborough.

Sprig Maneſty, *Eſq*; *deceaſed. Commiſſioner of the Victualling, and Auditor of the* African *Company. In his Place*
Sir George Saunders, *Knt. a Commiſſioner of the Navy.*
John Crowley, *Eſq*; *deceaſed. Alderman of* London. *In his Place*
Richard Evans, *Eſq*; *Deputy-Governor of* Sheerneſs, *and Captain of Dragoons.*

Lancaſhire.

Sir Edward Stanley, *Bart.*
Richard Shuttleworth, *Eſq*;

Preſton.

Sir Henry Houghton, *Bart. Judge-Advocate*
Nicholas Fazakerley, *Eſq*; *Counſellor at Law.*

Lancaſter.

Sir Thomas Lowther, *Bart.*
Chriſtopher Towers, *Eſq*;

Newtown.

William Shippen, *Eſq*;
Legh Maſter, *Eſq*;

Wigan.

Sir Roger Bradſhaigh, *Bart.*
Peter Bond, *Eſq*;

Clithero.

Thomas Liſter, *Eſq*;
Lord Viſcount Gallway *of* Ireland.

Leverpool.

Thomas Bootle, *Eſq*;
Sir Thomas Aſton, *Bart.*

Leiceſterſhire.

Lord William Manners.
Sir Cloberly Noel, *Bart.*

Leiceſter.

Sir George Beaumont, *Bart.*
George Wright, *Eſq*;

Lincolnſhire.

Robert Vyner, *Eſq*;
Sir Thomas Lumley Saunderſon, *Knt. of the* Bath, *Brother to the Earl of* Scarborough.

Lincoln.

Sir John Tyrwhit, *Bart.*
Charles Hall, *Eſq*;

Boſton.

Sir Richard Ellis, *Bart.*
Lord Colerain *of* Ireland.

Grimsby,

George Monſon, *Eſq*; *Brother to Lord* Monſon.
John Page, *Eſq*;

Stamford.

William Noel, *Eſq*;
Hon. Robert Shirley, *Eſq*; *Brother to Earl* Ferrers.

Grantham.

Lord Viſcount Tyrconnel, *Knight of the* Bath.

Sir

Sir Michael Newton, *Knight of* Bath.

Middleſex.

Hon. James Bertie, *Eſq*;
Sir Francis Child, *Knt. Alderman of* London.

Weſtminſter.

Lord Charles Cavendiſh, *Brother to the Duke of* Devonſhire, *and Lord of the Bed-chamber to the Prince.*
William Clayton, *Eſq*; *Commiſſioner of the Treaſury.*

London.

Sir John Eyles, *Bart. Sub-governor of the* South-Sea *Company.* [*See Vol.* II. *p.* 239.]
John Barnard, *Eſq*; *Alderman of* London.
Humphrey Parſons, *Eſq*; (*ibid.*)
Micajah Perry, *Eſq*;

Monmouthſhire

Sir William Morgan, *Knt. of the* Bath, *dec. In his Place*
Lord Charles Noel Somerſet, *Brother to the Duke of* Beaufort.
John Hanbury, *Eſq*;

Monmouth.

Edward Kemeys, *Eſq*;

Norfolk.

Sir Thomas Coke, *Knt. of the* Bath, *created Lord* Lovel. *In his Place*
Sir Edmond Bacon, *Bart.*
Sir John Hobart, *Knt, of the* Bath. *Treaſurer of his Majeſty's Chamber, and Vice-Admiral of the County, created Lord* Hobart. *In his Place*
Harbord Harbord, *Eſq*;

Norwich.

Waller Bacon, *Eſq*; *Commiſſioner of the Victualling-Office, and afterwards of the Muſters and Stores in* Minorca.
Robert Brittiffe, *Eſq*; *Counſellor at Law.*

Lynn-Regis.

Sir Charles Turner, *Bart. Teller of the* Exchequer.

Sir Robert Walpole, *Knt. of the* Garter, *firſt Lord-Commiſſioner of the* Treaſury, *and then of the* Exchequer.

Yarmouth.

Hon. William Townſhend, *Aid de Camp to his Majeſty, and Captain of Horſe.*
Horatio Walpole, *Eſq*; *Cofferer of the Houſhold.*

Thetford.

Sir Edmund Bacon, *Bart.*
Robert Jacombe, *Eſq*; *Deputy Paymaſter of the Forces, deceaſed. In his Place*
Charles Fitzroy, *Eſq*; *Cornet of Horſe, and Maſter of the* Tennis Court.

Caſtleriſing.

Col. Charles Churchill, *Groom of the Bedchamber to the King.*
Earl of Mountrath, *of* Ireland.

Northamptonſhire.

Sir Juſtinian Iſham, *Bart.*
Thomas Cartwright, *Eſq*;

Peterborough.

Sir Charles Gunter Nicholl, *Knt. of the* Bath.
Joſeph Banks, *Eſq*;

Northampton.

Hon. Edward Montagu, *Eſq*; *Governor of* Hull.
Hon. George Compton, *Eſq*;

Brackley.

Sir Paul Methuen, *Knt of the* Bath.
Hon. William Egerton, *Eſq*; *deceaſed. Col of a Regiment of Foot. In his Place*
George Lee, *L. L. D. Brother to Sir* Thomas Lee, *Knt. of the Shire for* Bucks.

Higham-Ferrers.

Hon. John Finch, *Eſq*;

Northumberland.

Sir William Middleton, *Bart.*
Ralph Jennifon, *Eſq*;

Newcaſtle upon Tyne.

William Carr, *Eſq;*

Nicholas Fenwick, *Eſq;*

Morpeth.

Henry *Viſcount* Morpeth.

Sir Thomas Robinſon, *Bart.*

Berwick upon Tweed.

George Lyddel, *Eſq;*

Joſeph Sabine, *Eſq; Lieutenant General, Governor of* Berwick, *and Colonel of the Royal Regiment of* Welſh *Fuzileers.*

Nottinghamſhire.

Sir Robert Sutton, *Knt. of the* Bath, *expelled the Houſe on Account of the Charitable Corporation.* [*See Vol.* II. *p.* 244.] *In his Place*

William Levinz, *Eſq;*

Lord Viſcount Howe, *made Governor of* Barbadoes. *In his Place*

Thomas Bennet, *Eſq;*

Nottingham.

Borlace Warren, *Eſq;*

Hon. John Stanhope, *Eſq; Brother to the Earl of* Cheſterfield, *and Secretary to the Embaſſy at the* Hague.

Eaſt-Retford.

Thomas White, *Eſq; deceaſed. In his Place*

John White, *Eſq;*

Sir Robert Clifton, *Knt. of the* Bath.

Newark upon Trent.

Brigadier General Sutton, *Governor of* Guernſey.

James Pelham, *Eſq; Secretary to the Prince, and to the Lord Chamberlain.*

Oxon.

Sir William Stapleton, *Bart.*

Henry Perrot, *Eſq;*

Univerſity of *Oxford.*

George Clark, *L. L. D.*

William Bromley, *Eſq; deceaſed. In his Place*

Lord Viſcount Cornbury, *Son of the Earl of* Clarendon *and* Rocheſter.

City of Oxford.

Thomas Rowney, *Eſq;*

Francis Knollys, *Eſq;*

Woodſtock.

Samuel Trotman, *Eſq;*

Marquis of Blandford, *deceaſed. In his Place*

Hon. John Spencer, *Eſq; Brother to the Duke of* Marlborough.

Banbury.

Hon. Francis North, *Eſq; ſucceeded his Father as Lord* Guilford.

Toby Chauncy, *Eſq; deceaſed. In his Place*

Lord Viſcount Wallingford, *Son to the Earl of* Banbury, *whoſe Claim to the Title is diſallowed by the Houſe of Peers.*

Rutlandſhire.

Daniel *Lord* Finch, *by his Father's Death Earl of* Winchelſea *and* Nottingham. *In his Place*

William Burton, *Eſq;*

Hon. Thomas Noel, *Eſq; Uncle to the Earl of* Gainſborough.

Shropſhire.

John Walcot, *Eſq;*

William Lacon Child, *Eſq;*

Shrewsbury.

Sir John Aſtley, *Bart.*

Richard Lyſter, *Eſq;*

Bridgenorth.

John Weaver, *Eſq;*

St. John Charlton, *Eſq;*

Ludlow.

Hon. Arthur Herbert, *Eſq; Lord Lieutenant of the County.*

Richard Herbert, *Eſq;*

Great Wenlock.

Samuel Edwards, *Eſq;*

John Sambrook, *Eſq; Gentleman of the Privy-chamber.*

Biſhop's-Caſtle.

Robert Moore, *Eſq;*

John Plumtree, *Eſq; Treaſurer and Pay-Maſter of the Ordnance.*

Somerſetſhire.

Sir William Wyndham, *Bart.*

Thomas Strangeways Horner, *Eſq;*

Bri-

Briſtol.

Sir Abraham Elton, *Bart.*

John Scrope, *Eſq; Joint-Secretary of the* Treaſury *with* Horace Walpole, *Eſq;*

Bath.

General George Wade, *Commander in Chief of the Land Forces in* Scotland, *and Governor of* Fort William *in the* Highlands.

Robert Gay, *Eſq; Surgeon to St.* Bartholomew's *Hoſpital.*

Wells.

Thomas Edwards, *Eſq;*

William Piers, *Eſq;*

Taunton.

George Speke, *Eſq;*

Francis Fane, *Eſq; one of his Majeſty's Council at Law, Sollicitor General to the Queen, and Council to the Board of Trade.*

Bridgwater.

George Bubb Doddington, *Eſq;*

Halſwell.

Sir Halſwel Tynte, *Bart. deceaſed. In his Place*

Thomas Palmer, *Eſq;*

Minehead.

Francis Whitworth, *Eſq; Surveyor of his Majeſty's Woods.*

Alexander Lutterel, *Eſq;*

Ilcheſter.

Charles Lockyer, *Eſq; Gentleman of the Privy-chamber, and Chief Accomptant to the* South-Sea *Company.*

Thomas Criſpe, *Eſq;*

Milbourn Port.

Michael Harvey, *Eſq;*

Thomas Medlicott, *Eſq; Commiſſioner of the Revenue in* Ireland.

Southamptonſhire.

Lord Harry Paulet, *a Commiſſioner of the Admiralty.*

Sir John Cope, *Bart.*

Wincheſter.

George Bridges, *Eſq;*

Lord William Paulet, *deceaſed. In his Place*

Norton Paulet, jun. *Eſq;*

Southampton.

Robert Eyre, *Eſq; Son of the Lord Chief Juſtice* Eyre, *made a Commiſſioner of the Exciſe. In his Place*

Sir William Heathcote, *Bart.*

Anthony Henley, *Eſq;*

Portſmouth.

Sir John Norris, *Admiral of the Blue, one of the Lords of the Admiralty, and Deputy Governor of* Dover *Caſtle.*

Sir Charles Wager, *Knt. made firſt Lord of the Admiralty, and rechoſe. Yarmouth* in the Iſle of *Wight.*

Maurice Morgan, *Eſq;*

Paul Burrard, *Eſq; Agent for Taxes.*

Petersfield.

Joſeph Taylor, *Eſq;*

Norton Paulet, *Eſq;*

Newport.

George Huxley, *Eſq; Commiſſary General of the Muſters.*

William Forteſcue, *Eſq; Secretary to the Chancellor of the* Exchequer.

Stockbridge.

Martin Bladen, *Eſq;*

John Chetwynd, *Eſq; ſecond Brother of the Lord Viſcount* Chetwynd, *made a Commiſſioner of Trade and Plantations.*

New-town.

Charles Armand Paulet, *Eſq; Lieutenant Colonel of Horſe Grenadiers.*

Sir John Barrington, *Bart.*

Chriſt-Church.

Charles Withers, *Eſq; deceaſed. Surveyor of his Majeſty's Woods North and South of* Trent. *In his Place*

Philip Lloyd, *Eſq; Capt. of Dragoons.*

Joſeph Hinxman, *Eſq; Woodward of* New-Foreſt.

Lymington.

Lord Naſſau Paulet, *Knt. of the* Bath.

Anthony Morgan, *Eſq; deceaſed. In his Place*

William Paulet, *Eſq;*

Whit-

Whitchurch.

John Conduit, *Esq;*
John Selwyn, *Esq; Treasurer to the Queen.*

Andover.

Hon. James Brudenel, *Esq; a Commissioner of Trade, and Groom of the Bed-chamber.*
Lord Viscount Melsington, *Son to the Earl of* Portmore, *by whose Death he succeeded to the Title. In his Place*
William Guidott, *Esq;*

Staffordshire.

Hon. William Leveson Gower, *Esq;*
Sir Walter Wagstaffe Bagot, *Bart.*

Lichfield.

Richard Plummer, *Esq;*
Walter Chetwynd, *Esq; deceased. In his Place*
George Venables Vernon, *Esq;*

Stafford.

Walter *Viscount* Chetwynd *of* Ireland, *High Steward of this Borough.*
Joseph Gascoigne Nightingale, *Esq;*

Newcastle under Line.

Hon. Baptist Leveson Gower, *Esq; youngest Brother to Lord* Gower.
John Ward, *Esq;*

Tamworth.

William *Earl of* Inchiquin *of* Ireland.
Hon. Thomas Willoughby, *Esq; second Son to the Lord* Middleton.

Suffolk.

Sir Jermyn Davers, *Bart.*
Sir William Barker, *Bart. deceased. In his Place*
Sir Robert Kemp, *Bart.*

Ipswich.

Sir William Thompson, *Knt. made a Baron of the* Exchequer. *In his Place*
Philip Broke, *Esq;*
Francis Negus, *Esq; deceased, Master of his Majesty's Buck Hounds.*
William Wollaston, *Esq;*

Dunwich.

Sir George Downing, *Bart. Knt. of the* Bath.
Thomas Wyndham, *Esq; Auditor of the South Part of the Duchy of* Lancaster.

Orford.

Hon. Pryce Devereux, *Esq; made his Election for* Montgomeryshire. *In his Place*
William Acton, *Esq;*
Hon. Dudley North, *Esq; deceased. In his Place*
Robert Kemp, *Esq; Son of Sir* Robert.

Aldborough.

Samuel Lowe, *Esq; deceas'd. In his Place*
George Purvis, *Esq; Captain in the Navy.*
William Wyndham, *Esq; deceas'd, Lieutenant-Governor of* Chelsea *Hospital. In his Place*
Sir John Williams, *Knt. Alderman of* London.

Sudbury.

Carteret Leathes, *Esq;*
John Knight, *Esq; deceas'd. In his Place*
Richard Jackson, *Esq;*

Eye.

Hon. Stephen Cornwallis, *Esq; Lieutenant-Colonel of a Regiment of Foot.*
Hon. John Cornwallis, *Esq; Equery to the Prince. Both Brothers to the Lord* Cornwallis.

St. Edmund's Bury.

John *Lord* Hervey, *called up to the House of Peers. In his Place*
Hon. Thomas Hervey, *Esq; Equery to the Queen.*
Col. Thomas Norton, *Lieutenant Governor of* Chelsea *Hospital.*

Surry.

Thomas Scawen, *Esq;*
Arthur Onslow, *Esq; Chancellor to the Queen, Recorder of* Guildford, *and* SPEAKER *to the House, also a Treasurer of the Navy.*

Southwark

Southwark.

Sir Joſeph Eyles *Kt. Brother to Sir* John Eyles, *Bart.*

Edmund Halſey, *Eſq; dec. In his Place*

Thomas Inwen, *Eſq;*

Bletchingly.

Sir Orl. Bridgman, *Bart. a Commiſſioner of Trade and Plantations.*

William Clayton, *Eſq;*

Ryegate.

Sir Joſeph Jekyll, *Kt. Maſter of the Rolls.*

James Cocks, *Eſq; Nephew to the Maſter of the Rolls.*

Guildford.

Richard Onſlow, *Eſq; Colonel of the Guards, and Brother to* Arthur Onſlow *Eſq;*

Henry Vincent, *Eſq; Son of Sir* Francis Vincent, *Bart.*

Gatton.

William Newland, *Eſq;*

Paul Docminique, *Eſq; a Commiſſionot of Trade.*

Haſlemere.

James Oglethorp, *Eſq; one of the Truſtees for the Colony of* Georgia.

Peter Burrel, *Eſq; Sub-Governor of the* South-Sea *Company.*

Suſſex.

Hon. Henry Pelham, *Eſq;*

Sir Spencer Compton, *Kt. of the* Bath. *Created Earl of* Wilmington. *In his Place*

James Butler, *Eſq;*

Chicheſter.

Lord William Beauclere, *dec. Vice-Chamberlain to the Queen. In his Place*

Sir Thomas Pendergaſt. *Bart.*

Hon. Charles Lumley, *Eſq; deceaſed, Brother to the Earl of* Scarborough. *In his Place*

Hon. James Lumley, *Eſq; his Brother.*

Horſham.

Charles Eversfield, *Eſq;*

Hon. Henry Ingram, *Eſq; Commiſſary General of the Stores at* Minorca.

Midhurſt.

Bulſtrode Peachy Knight, *Eſq;*

Sir Richard Mills, *Bart.*

Lewes.

Thomas Pelham, *Eſq;*

Thomas Pelham, *Eſq; of* Stanmore, *Secretary to the Embaſſy in* France.

Shoreham

Sir Nathaniel Gould, *Kt. dec. In his Place*

John Gould, *Eſq;*

Francis Chamberlain, *Eſq; dec. In his Place*

Samuel Ongley, *Eſq;*

Bramber.

Joſeph d'Anvers, *Eſq;*

Sir Richard Gough, *Kt. dec. In his Place*

James Hoſte, *Eſq;* jun.

Steyning.

William *Viſcount* Vane, *of* Ireland.

Eaſt Grinſted.

Richard *Viſcount* Shannon *of* Ireland, *Captain of the fourth Troop of Guards.*

Henry *Viſcount* Palmerſton *of* Ireland, *Chief Remembrancer of the Court of* Exchequer *in that Kingdom.*

Arundel.

Hon. John Lumley, *Eſq; Brother to the Earl of* Scarborough *Avener and Clerk Marſhal to his Majeſty.*

Sir John Shelly, *Bart.*

Warwickſhire.

William Peytoe, *Eſq; deceaſed. In his Place*

Sir Charles Mordannt, *Bart.*

Hon. Edward Digby, *Eſq;*

Coventry.

Sir Adolphus Oughton, *Bart.*

John Neale, *Eſq; Comptroller of the Houſhold to the three eldeſt Princeſſes.*

Warwick.

Sir William Keyt, *Bart.*

William

William Bromley, *Esq*; *only Son of* William Bromley, *Esq*; *late Speaker.*

Westmorland.

Hon. Henry Lowther, *Esq*; *made a Commissioner of the Revenue in* Ireland, *and rechose.*

Daniel Wilson, *Esq*;

Apulby.

Hon. Sackville Tufton, *Esq*; *succeeded his Uncle as Earl of* Thanet.

In his Place

Walter Plumer, *Esq*;

John Ramsden, *Esq*;

Wiltshire.

John Ivory Talbot, *Esq*;

John Howe, *Esq*;

New Sarum.

Anthony Duncombe, *Esq*;

Thomas Lewis, *Esq*;

Wilton.

Hon. Robert Herbert, *Esq*; *a Commissioner of the Revenue in* Ireland.

Thomas Martin, *Esq*;

Downton.

Giles Eyre, *Esq*; *Serjeant at Law, and Recorder of* Bath.

Hon. John Verney, *Esq*; *youngest Son of Lord* Willoughby *of* Broke, *one of his Majesty's Council at Law, and one of the* Welch *Judges, made Chief Justice of* Chester, *and rechose.*

Hindon.

George Heathcote, *Esq*; *Nephew to Sir* Gilbert Heathcote, *Kt. and Bart.*

Townshend Andrews, *Esq*; *Deputy Pay-master of the Forces.*

Heytesbury.

Edward Ashe, *Esq*;

Hon. Horatio Townshend, *Esq*; *Gentleman of the Privy-chamber, a Director of the Bank, and Brother to Lord Viscount* Townshend.

Westbury.

Francis Annesley, *Esq*;

John Hoskins Gifford, *Esq*;

Calne.

William Ducket, *Esq*; *Lieutenant-colonel of the Horse Grenadiers.*

William Wardour, *Esq*;

Devizes.

Benjamin Haskin Styles, *Esq*;

Francis Eyles, *Esq*; *a Lieutenant of Dragoons.*

Chippenham.

Rogers Holland, *Esq*;

Gabriel Roberts, *Esq*; *a Director of the* South-Sea *Company.*

Malmesbury.

Giles Erle, *Esq*;

William Rawlinson Erle, *Esq*; *Clerk of the Deliveries to the Ordnance Office.*

Cricklade.

Sir Thomas Read, *Bart.*

Christopher Tilson, *Esq*; *one of the Clerks of the Treasury.*

Great-Bedwin.

William Sloper, *Esq*; *Deputy-cofferer, and High-steward of* Newbury.

Francis Seymour, *Esq*;

Ludgershal.

Borlace Richmond Webb, *Esq*;

Charles Boone, *Esq*; *late Governor of* Bombay.

Old-Sarum.

Thomas Harrison, *Esq*;

Matthew Chitty St. Quintin, *Esq*; *Brother to Sir* William St. Quintin, *Bart.*

Wotton-Basset.

Hon. John St. John, *Esq*; *second Son of Lord Viscount* St. John *of* Battersea.

John Crosse, *Esq*; *Son of Sir* Thomas Crosse, *Bart.*

Marlborough.

Thomas Gibson, *Esq*;

Edward Lisle, *Esq*;

Worcestershire.

Sir Thomas Lyttleton, *Bart. one of the Lords of the Admiralty.*

Sir Herbert Perrott Pakington, *Bart.*

Wor-

Worcester.

Samuel Sandys, *Esq;*
Sir Richard Lane, *Kt.*

Droitwich.

Thomas Winnington, *Esq;*
Edward Foley, *Esq;*

Evesham.

John Rudge, *Esq;*
Sir John Rushout, *Bart.*

Bewdly.

William Crew Offley, *Esq; Gentleman of the Privy-chamber.*

Yorkshire.

Sir Thomas Watson Wentworth, *Knt. of the* Bath, *created Lord* Malton. *In his Place*
Sir George Saville, *Bart.*
Cholmley Turner, *Esq;*

York.

Sir William Milner, *Bart.*
Edward Thompson, *Esq; a Commissioner of the Revenue in* Ireland.

Kingston upon Hull.

George Crowle, *Esq; a Commissioner of the Victualling-Office.*
Joseph *Lord Viscount* Micklethwaite, *of* Ireland, *deceas'd. In his Place*
Henry Maister, *Esq;*

Knaresborough.

Hon. Richard Arundel, *Esq; Surveyor-General of the Works.*
Sir Henry Slingsby, *Bart.*

Scarborough.

John Hungerford, *Esq; deceas'd. In his Place*
William Thompson, *Esq; Commissioner of the Victualling-Office.*
Sir William Strickland, *Bart. Treasurer of the Queen's Household.*

Ripon.

William Aislabie, *Esq; Son of* John Aislabie, *Esq;*
William Aislabie, *Esq; Nephew of* John Aislabie, *Esq;*

Richmond.

John York, *Esq;*
Sir Conyers D'Arcy, *Knt. of the* Bath, *made Comptroller of the Household, and re-chosen.*

Heydon.

William Pulteney, *Esq; made Cofferer of his Majesty's Household, and Ranger of* Epping-Forest, *and re-chosen.*
Henry Pulteney, *Esq; his Brother, Colonel of the Guards, and Equery to the King.*

Borough Bridge.

Col. James Tyrrel.
George Gregory, *Esq; Store-keeper of the Ordnance.*

Malton.

Hon. Henry Finch, *Esq; Receiver-General, and Collector of the Customs in* Minorca.
Wardel George Westby, *Esq; made a Commissioner of the Customs. In his Place*
Sir William Wentworth, *Bart.*

Thirsk.

Sir Thomas Frankland, *Bart. made one of the Lords of the Admiralty, and re-chosen.*
Thomas Robinson, *Esq; Son of Sir* William Robinson, *Bart. and Secretary to* Horace Walpole, *Esq; Ambassador extraordinary in* France.

Aldborough.

William Jessop, *Esq; made a Puisne Judge of* Chester, *and re-chose.*
Charles Stanhope, *Esq; Treasurer of his Majesty's Chamber, Brother to Lord* Harrington.

Beverly.

Sir Charles Hotham, *Bart.*
Charles Pelham, *Esq;*

Northallerton.

Leonard Smelt, *Esq; Clerk of the Ordnance.*
Henry Peirse, *Esq;*

Pontefract.

Sir William Lowther, *Bart.*
John Mordaunt, *Esq; Colonel of the Guards.*

A List of the first House of Commons,

Barons of the CINQUE PORTS.

Haſtings.

Sir William Aſhburnham, *Bart.*

Thomas Pelham, *Jun. Eſq; Son of* Thomas Pelham *of* Stammere, *Eſq; and Secretary of the* Britiſh *Embaſſy at the Congreſs of* Soiſſons.

Dover.

Hon. George Berkeley, *Eſq; Maſter of St.* Catherine's *Hoſpital.*

Henry Furneſe, *Eſq;*

Sandwich.

Sir George Oxenden, *Bart. one of the Lords of the Treaſury.*

Joſiah Burchet, *Eſq; Secretary to the Admiralty.*

Hyeth.

Sir Samuel Lennard, *Bart. deceaſed. In his Place*

William Glanville, *Eſq;*

Capt. Hercules Baker.

New-Romney.

David Papillon, *Eſq;*

Sir Robert Auſten, *Bart.*

Rye.

Philip Gibbon, *Eſq;*

John Norris, *Eſq; eldeſt Son of the Admiral, made Uſher of the Cuſtom-Houſe. In his Place*

Matthew Norris, *Eſq; his Brother*

Winchelſea.

Robert Briſtow, *Eſq; Clerk-Comptroller of the Green Cloth.*

Peter Walter, *Eſq; Clerk of the Peace for* Middleſex.

Seaford.

Sir William Gage, *Bart. Knt. of the* Bath.

Sir Philip Yorke, *Knt. created Lord* Hardwicke, *and made Lord-Chief-Juſtice of the* King's-Bench. *In his Place*

William Haye, *Eſq;*

WALES.

Anglſea.

Hugh Williams, *Eſq;*

Beaumaris.

Lord Viſcount Belkeley *of* Ireland.

Brecon.

Wiliam Gwyn Vaughan, *Eſq;*

Town of *Brecon.*

Thomas Morgan, *Eſq;*

Cardigaſhire.

John *Viſcount* Liſburne *of* Ireland *Lord Lieutenant and Cuſtos Rotulorum of this County.*

Cardigan.

Fiancis Cornwallis, *Eſq; dec. In his Place*

Richard Lloyd, *Eſq;*

Caermarthenſhire.

Sir Nicholas Williams, *Bart. Lord Lieutenant of the County.*

Carmarthen.

Arthur Beven, *Eſq; Recorder of this Town.*

Caernarvanſhire.

John Griffith, *Eſq;*

Caernarvan.

Thomas Wynne, *Eſq; Clerk of the Green-cloth to the King.*

Denbighſhire.

Watkin Williams Wynne, *Eſq;*

Denbigh.

Robert Middleton, *Eſq; dec. In his Place*

John Middleton *Eſq;*

Flintſhire.

Sir Roger Moſtyn *Bart. Cuſtos Rotulorum of the County.*

Flint.

Salsbury Lloyd, *Eſq;*

Glamorgan.

Sir Charles Keymis, *Bart.*

Cardiffe.

Hon. Buſſy Manſell, *Eſq;*

Merioneth.

Richard Vaughan *Eſq;*

Montgomery.

Hon. Price Devereux, *Eſq;*

Montgomery.

William Corbett, *Eſq;*

Pembrokeſhire.

John Campbell, *Eſq; of* Stackpole Court.

Pem-

Pembroke.

William Owen, *Esq*;
Haverford-West.
Erasmus Philips, *Esq*;
Radnor.
Thomas Lewis, *Esq*;

SCOTLAND.

Shire of Aberdeen.
Sir Archibald Grant, *Bart. expelled the House on account of the Charitable Corporation,* [*See Vol.* II. *p.* 244.] *In his Place*
Sir Arthur Forbes, *Bart.*
Shire of Air.
Hon. James Campbell, *Esq*; *Colonel of a Regiment of* Scotch Greys, *Groom of the Bedchamber to his Majesty.*
Shire of Argyle.
Sir James Campbell, *Bart. Commissary of the Musters in* North-Britain.
Shire of Bamff.
William Duffe, *Esq*;
Berwick.
George Balie *Esq*;
Shires of Bute *and* Cathness.
Patrick Dunbar, *Esq*;
Shires of Cromartie *and* Nairn.
Sir George Mackenzie, *Bart.*
Shires of Clackmannac *and* Kinross.
Sir John Hope Bruce, *Bart.*
Shire of Dumbarton.
Col. John Campbell, jun. *Groom of the Bed-chamber to the King.*
Shire of Dumfries.
Charles Areskine, *Esq*;
Shire of Edinburgh.
Robert Dundass, *Esq*;
Shire of Elgin.
Alexander Brodie, *Esq*; Lyon *King at Arms in* Scotland.
Shire of Fife.
Sir John Anstruther, *Bart. Master of his Majesty's Works in* Scotland.
Shire of Forfar.
James Scot, *jun. Esq*;
Shire of Haddington.
John Cockburn, *Esq*; *one of the Lords of the* Admiralty.
Shire of Inverness.
James Grant, *Esq*;
Shire of Kincardin.
James Scott, *sen. Esq*;
Stewartry of Kirkcudbright.
Patrick Heron, *Esq*;
Shire of Lanerk.
Lord Archibald Hamilton.
Linlithgow.
Alexander Hamilton, *Esq*; *Secretary to the Prince of* Wales *for* Scotland.
Shire of Orkney *and* Zetland.
Capt. Robert Douglas, *Son of the Earl of* Moreton.
Shire of Peebles.
John Douglas, *Esq*; *dec. In his Place*
Sir James Nasmith, *Bart.*
Shire of Perth.
John Drummond, *Esq*; *Director of the* East-India *Company, and a Commissioner for settling Commerce.*
Shire of Renfrew.
Sir John Schaw, *Bart.*
Shire of Ross.
Lieutenant-General Charles Ross, *dec. Brother to Lord* Ross. *In his Place*
John Monrow, *Esq*;
Shire of Roxburgh.
William Douglas, jun. *Esq*;
Shire of Selkirk.
James Rutherfurd, jun. *Esq*;
Shire of Stirling.
Henry Cunningham, *Esq*; *Commissary-General of the Musters in* Scotland, *made Governor of* Jamaica.
Shire of Sutherland.
William *Lord* Strathnaver, *Grandson and Heir apparent to the Earl of* Sutherland.
Shire of Wigtoun.
Hon. William Dalrymple, *Esq*; *second Brother to the Earl of* Stair.

ROYAL BURGHS.

Edingburgh.
John Campbell, *Esq*;
Kirkwall, Week, Taine, &c.
Sir Robert Monro, *Bart.*
Fortroſe, Inverneſs, Nairn, &c.
Duncan Forbes, *Esq*; *made Lord Advocate of* Scotland, *and rechoſen.*
Elgin, Cullen, Bamff, &c.
Peter Campbell, *Esq*; *Groom of the Bed-chamber to the Prince, and Capt. in the Foot-Guards.*
Aberdeen, Montroſe, &c.
John Middleton, *Esq*; *Colonel of Foot, and Deputy Governor of* Tinmouth-Fort.
Forfar, Perth, Dundee, &c.
John Drummond, *Esq*;
Craill, Anſtruther, Pettenweem, &c.
Philip Anſtruther, *Esq*; *made Colonel of a Regiment of Foot at* [illegible] *and rechoſen.*
Dyſert, Kirkcaldie, &c.
James Sinclair, *Esq*; *Major of the third Regiment of Foot Guards, and Lieutenant Governor of* Berwick.
Innerkithen, Culcroſs, Stirling, &c.
Captain Thomas Erſkine.
Glaſgow, Renfrew, Dumbarton, &c.
Daniel Campbell, *Esq*;
Selkirk, Peebles, Lanerk, &c.
John Murray, *Esq*;
Hadington, Dunbarr, Jedburgh, &c.
Sir James Dalrymple, *Bart.*
Dumfries, Kirkcudbright, &c.
Archibald Douglaſs, Sen. *Esq*;
Wigtoun, New Galloway, &c.
Captain John Dalrymple.
Air, Irvin, Inverary, &c.
William Stuart, *Esq*; *Pay-Maſter of the of the Penſions in* England.

MVSEVM
BRITANNICVM